

SAC, NEW YORK (100-25503 sub 042)

12/18/58

SA JAMES E. KELLEY

CP, USA - NY DISTRICT,
NY COUNTY
IS - C

Identity of Informant:

NY 2353-S*

Reliability:

Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

Date:

12/5/58

NY 2353-S* has reported that on 12/5/58, LIL (believed to be LIL HIRSHMAN) contacted RUTH (SHULMAN) and asked if her date was for the 17th. RUTH replied that she believed so. LIL then asked if she knows any of RUTH's friends that will be "there". RUTH indicates she (RUTH) will be the only one LIL knows and they indicate they will probably see each other.

LIL told RUTH she wanted to talk to EVELYN (WIENER), who would not be in until about 4:30. LIL said EVELYN could give her a ring but not that day so she said she would not be home. RUTH said she would see to it that EVELYN got LIL's message.

RUTH then spoke to LIL about the possibility of LIL taking people in (her apartment) over the weekend as guests and LIL indicated she was agreeable. RUTH then indicated she may have somebody give LIL a ring tomorrow and mentioned that if people come to LIL's they will probably come about 11:00 tomorrow night. LIL mentioned that the people should stop in at the apartment below hers if she is not home.

In the event this information is used in a report, it should be suitably paraphrased in order not to compromise the informant.

- 1- New York (100-67234) (RUTH SHULMAN) (425)
- 1- New York (100-120215) (LIL HIRSHMAN) (424)
- 1- New York (100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (424)
- ①- New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (415)
- 1- New York (100-25503 sub 042) (425)

JEL:GAS
(5)

100-4931-12211

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
#415-1	
J. V. Waters	

Office Memorandum . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-1878-P) DATE: December 19, 1958

FROM: SA DONALD E. WALLER

SUBJECT: CP - USA - MINNEAPOLIS DIVISION
IS - C

Purpose:

To record information contained in a written report dated 12/5/58, received in the mail from [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, by SA DONALD E. WALLER. on 12/11/58. Informant's written report is filed as [redacted]

b7D

Details: Set out informant's report verbatim.

"December 5, 1958

"On [redacted] a C.P. club meeting was held
at the home of [redacted] There were six members of the

CCs

100-1878-P
100-1878-CC (CP, Education)
100-1878-R (CP, Political
100-8380 (FOPC) Activities)
100-4342 (The Worker)
100-10831 (Cominfil PTA)
100-2766 (DFL)

[redacted]
100-4884 (ELLEN DAVIS)
100-371 (SAMUEL DAVIS)
100-9506 (HANLEY HEMMINGSON)
100-2892 (JULIA LIEF)
100-4303 (TOINI MACKIE)
100-3267 (CLAUDE MC DONALD)

100-6379 (CARL ROSS)
100-1878-HH (CP, Factionalism)
100-new (Northside Club #1)
100-new (Northside Club #2)
100-4294 (WALTER LIEF)

[redacted]
100-6386 (PAUL FAGERHAUGH)
100-6785 (BETTY SMITH)
100-8894 (Sobell Committee)
13 - New York (RM)
100-CP, USA
(100-FRED-FINE)
(100- JOHN GATES)

DEW:sb
(27) *sb*

100 - 4931 - 12212

SEARCHED *by* INDEXED *by*
SERIALIZED *by* FILED *by*
413
DEC 22 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

Waters
J. V. Waters *fw*

MP #100-1878-P

North Side #1 club and one member of the North Side #2 club. Of the North side #1 club: [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] and [redacted] were present. [redacted] was present from the North Side No. 2 club.

"The first part of the evening was spend in discussing relatively minor questions; the results of the bazaar, the recent fire in Chicago and the fact that this issue is going to be brought up in some of the PTA's of this city, especially in the John Hays PTA, where [redacted] is a member.

[redacted] arrived late and when he came the meeting started in earnest. The first thing he brought up at this meeting was a report on a meeting of the Party officials, (either a C.P. state board meeting or a chairmen's meeting) that was held last Tuesday, Dec. 2. The primary item he reported was a discussion of the recent elections. A short discussion of the elections was taken up in this club meeting following that. This grew into a discussion of the need for educational work within the Party. [redacted] made some statements that were surprising to some of the members present, espec. [redacted]. She tried to give some of the reasons why she had not voted for EUGENE MC CARTHY. The main reason was that he is a Catholic. She was positive that although he would be acceptable as an individual and DFL'er, the Catholic Church controls too much political power to give it a chance to gain more influence. This grew into a discussion that a member of the Communist Party should have enough confidence in the working class and the labor movement to know that they would be able to guard against or counter act any attempt by the Church to use their influence. [redacted] also stated that if [redacted] carried out her augument to its logical conclusion, she would be inferring that no person, in or out of the party, who was or had ever been a Catholic could be trusted.

"As one example of how a Party member can do harm to the labor movement, an incident was brought up. DAVE VINCENT (who was identified as a member of the Communist Party by [redacted] who in a local election in Northern Minnesota, ran in opposition to a labor endorsed condidate and later let his name be used in support of ED THYE.

MP #100-1878-P

"Also brought up at this time, and more or less in connection with the previous discussion, was the recent activities of CARL ROSS. According to [] he (CARL) had allied himself with the JOHN GATES faction. He recently made a trip to New York to meet with GATES, FINE and others. Also, according to [] he has reliable information that a decision was made at this meeting, that since the prediction that the Party was going to disintegrate was not coming true, they (GATES, ROSS, FINE, etc) would work on individuals within the Party to create apathy, discontent and indifference. In [] opinion, the fact that CARL has not engaged in any political discussion with individuals or groups since he returned from New York, merely proves this information and that this is just a first step to create indifference in Party members because many party people, seeing that a leader, even though a former leader, does not think many of the issues or the Party itself is worthy of discussion, would be likely to follow his example.

b7D

"Next on the evening's agenda [] brought up a subject that was taken up at the Freedom of the Press Committee meeting last Tuesday (Dec. 2) concerning the Worker circulation drive. She gave out the names of the people whose subs are expiring to some of the club members who are to contact them for renewals. There were some that none of the club members knew so [] and [] will go out sometime next week to contact them.

"There was one last thing mentioned at this meeting. Both of the North Side clubs were supposed to meet this evening to plan a merger but since [] was the only member of the other club present, it was decided to postpone these plans until the next meeting. Meanwhile all the members of both clubs will be notified of the meeting to be held on Thursday, December 18th, at [] house again, at which time the vote will be taken on the merger. It is pretty generally accepted that the merger will go through and the next thing after that will be the election of new officers."

ADDENDUM:

On December 5, 1958, this source advised orally that at the CP club meeting held on [] at

MP #100-1878-P

[redacted] it was learned that [redacted] recently had an operation on one of his ears, which may result in his regaining his hearing in that ear. Indications were, according to information obtained from [redacted] may be more active in CP affairs in the future if he is able to regain his hearing.

b7D

In regard to the discussion concerning the re-organization of the two northside clubs, [redacted] stated at the meeting [redacted] that KATHERINE BROOKNER and her husband CARL BROOKNER are supposed to be members of Northside #1 CP club and they are to be contacted regarding the re-organization.

It was also learned that PAUL FAGERHAUGH has recently been elected to some union office, the nature of which was not disclosed and is not known to the informant. [redacted] commented that FAGERHAUGH is to be contacted regarding the re-organization which is to take place at the next meeting of these CP clubs.

It was further learned at this meeting that [redacted] was asked by [redacted] to contact BETTY SMITH regarding her Daily Worker subscription and donation as well as to contact her regarding attendance at the re-organization meeting of the Northside CP clubs. [redacted] also suggested that efforts be made to obtain back CP dues from BETTY SMITH.

This source learned that at this meeting [redacted] had expressed protest for MC CARTHY, DFL candidate for the U. S. Senate, because he was a Catholic and both [redacted] and [redacted] took [redacted] to task for her lack of faith in the labor movement.

It was announced at this meeting that the venison dinner which had been scheduled for sometime in the immediate future at the Labor Temple was called off, no reason having been given for this action.

It was likewise learned that [redacted] has not been feeling well recently, has been to some unidentified doctor on several occasions, and during the course of the evening [redacted] seemed to be somewhat concerned about him and as the evening progressed on several occasions

MP #100-1878-P

it was noted that she commented to [] that it was necessary for him to go home so that he could get some rest.

b7D

The informant advised that in the conversation at the CP meeting pertaining to CARL ROSS, [] commented that he had received information on reliable authority that the Gates-Fine group from New York, with which CARL ROSS has affiliated himself, has definitely decided that as a group they plan to burrow within the CP through its members and thus act to destroy the CP.

[] ranks CARL ROSS very closely with the Trotskyites and CARL ROSS is being blamed by [] as another reason for the Sobell Committee presently being under the domination of the SWP. It was likewise announced by [] that the CP cannot just desert the Sobell Committee because of SWP domination.

Action:

File copies in designated files.

Open Paul Fagerhaugh case to determine if he actually holds a union office and identity of Union.

TO : SAC, BIRMINGHAM

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-97078)

SUBJECT: NY LOCAL SWP
IS-SWP

DATE: 12/22/58

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal). b6 b7C b7D

Description of Info: Militant Labor Forum meeting, 12/5/58, Adelphi Hall, 5th Ave. and 14th St., NYC.

Date Received: 12/9/58

Received By: SA ARTHUR J. GREENE, JR. (written)

Original Located: [redacted]

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following info to protect the identity of the informant.

A copy of informant's written report follows:

1-Birmingham (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (RM)
1-Buffalo (100-16266 FRANCES SHERMAN) (RM)
1-Chicago (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (RM)
1-Cleveland (100-23684 OHIO SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR A SOCIALIST CONFERENCE) (RM)
2-Los Angeles (WILLIAM F. WARDE) (RM)
(1 - HARLAN ROBERTS)
1-San Francisco (VINCENT HALLINAN) (RM)
1-[redacted] Inv) (413)
1-NY 100-80679 (HARRY RING) (413)
1-NY 100-118388 [redacted] (413)
1-NY 100-134938 [redacted] (413)
1-NY 100-135101 (VINCE GARCIA) (413)
1-NY 100-129184 [redacted] (413)
1-NY 100-133145 (FRANCES SHERMAN) (413)
1-NY 100-130558 [redacted] (413)
1-NY 100-59096 (TOM KERRY) (413)
1-NY 100-136792 [redacted] (413)
1-NY 100-133814 [redacted] (413)
Copies Cont'd
1-NY 100-97078 (413)

AJG:ibj
(37)

793

100-4931-12213

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 22 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. V. Waters

NY 100-97078

Copies Cont'd

1-NY 100-122237 [REDACTED] (413)
1-NY 100-122864 [REDACTED] (413)
1-NY 100-93735 [REDACTED] (413)
1-NY 100-85923 [REDACTED] (413)
1-NY 100-133155 (ARTHUR KNUTSEN) (413)
1-NY 100-59476 (MORRIS STEIN) (413)
1-NY 100-134879 (CAROL OBERLING) (413)
1-NY 100- [REDACTED] (ART LNU, ex-husband of CAROL OBERLING) (413)
1-NY 100-135906 (JULIUS LNU) (413)
1-NY 100- [REDACTED] (413)
1-NY 100-84574 [REDACTED] (413)
1-NY 100-129353 (LILLIAN KEIZEL) (413)
1-NY 100-130179 [REDACTED] (413)
1-NY 100-135320 (ISP) (413)
1-NY 100-60264 (MURRY WEISS) (413)
1-NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
1-NY 100-136610 (OHIO SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR A SOCIALIST
CONFERENCE) (413)
1-NY 100-4931 (CP USA) (415)

b6
b7c

NY 100-97078

Report Written Dec. 8, 1958

Militant Labor Forum

Adelphi Hall Fifth Avenue & 14th
Street, New York, N.Y.

Friday, Dec. 5, 1958

Present at the forum were:

Harry Ring

[redacted]
Tom Kerry

[redacted]
Whitey Knutsen
William F. Ward
Morris Stein

[redacted]
Julius

[redacted]
Lillian Roberts

Vince Garcia

[redacted]
Frances Sherman

b6
b7c

1958

There were about 50 persons present.

Tom Kerry was the chairman of the meeting. William F. Ward of the Los Angeles local gave an account of the united socialist election campaigns on the west coast. He began with a history of the development of the united socialist electoral activity in California which received its first impetus from the Harlan Roberts campaign in which Roberts running on an independent and socialist basis got 400,000 votes. Vincent Hallinan from the Progressive Party and others from the C.P. milieu projected the issue of independent socialist political action in this campaign and when they achieved this great success they proceeded to form the basis of united front of all socialist tendencies. From the beginning this was fought by the C.P. Under the impetus of the N.Y. Conference in June. Hallinan was a prime mover in this. Defeating C.P. tactics which at times gave way to violence, the conference came out for independent political action by socialists. They decided to put up a slate of candidates in California in the Spring elections and to wage an all-out fight in this election around the issues of the "right to work" laws.

NY 100-97078

He said the success of the movement in California in bringing about a break and united action on the left against the two capitalist parties and its great success in the defeat of the "right to work" law augurs well for the country and for independent political action by socialists of all tendencies in the 1960 campaign.

Harry Ring who spoke in place of Murry Weiss told of the great success of the Cleveland conference. He said that there were about 110 delegates altogether. He said the SLP sent observers as did the C.P. Arnold Johnson was one of the official spokesman of the C.P. The C.P. came out for its usual line of support for the Democratic Party because that is where the majority of the workers are. The S.P.-S.D.F. refused to take part in the conference but sent observers. In general all socialist tendencies were represented and each exchanged its views in gentlemanly manner. Reports were given on the N.Y., Chicago and California campaigns. Rev. King's campaign in Chicago was given a particularly glowing report, especially his condemnation of the C.P. for trying to bust up his campaign and only giving it limited support in the end. He denounced the C.P. for urging labor and the negro people and himself to support the party which was lynching his people in the south.

The final result of the conference was a decision to set up a committee to investigate the possibility of founding a united socialist electoral bloc and to report its findings one year from now at another conference at which the final decision would be made on whether to enter the 1960 elections.

Tom Kerry announced that there would be united socialist action on many fronts between now and 1960 and cited the fight for integration and as a leading one in which all socialists and liberals could unite. He cited the case of the two negro boys sentenced to a reformatory in Monroe, N.C. as a case in point. He introduced [redacted] and [redacted] as two young socialists who had gone down to N.C. to ferret out the facts of the case and interview all concerned.

b6
b7c

NY 100-97078

He urged everyone to read the accounts of their trip in the Militant and in the Young Socialist. He urged everyone to subscribe to the Militant, the ISR and the Young Socialist.

He then led the collection for the Monroe Case in which he appealed for funds to rouse the country to act in the case as it had been done in the Jimmy Wilson case.

He collected about 150 dollars. Admission to the forum was one dollar. He urged everyone to retire to 116 University Place for refreshments and discussion.

* * * * *

Information in the above report concerning the trip by [redacted] and [redacted] to Monroe, N.C. has been afforded previous dissemination to the Bureau and Charlotte.

b6
b7C
b7D

Concerning the individual referred to as [redacted] LNU, [redacted] orally advised on 12/12/58 that this individual is reportedly the ex-husband of [redacted] who is attending Marxist classes being conducted currently at the residence of [redacted] in NYC. Informant added that this individual has not yet become a member of the NY Local SWP.

12/22/58

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)
FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-1502)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
IS - C

CINAL

On 12/22/58, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA JOHN T. BLAIR informant had a personal conversation with THOMAS NABRIED, temporary District Chairman, CPEPD, and CPUSA National Committee member, on 12/21/58. NABRIED stated it is now CP policy for National leaders to apply for passports in their own names even though they do not intend to use them, because they are entitled to passports. NABRIED added that he knew that JAMES JACKSON was applying for a passport but probably would not use it.

b7D

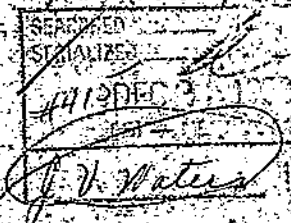
NABRIED said that both he and JACK ZUCKER locally would apply for passports. ZUCKER is Section Organizer of the 6th CD Section, CPEPD, and formerly Pennsylvania State Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress. NABRIED said he had no intention of using the passport for which he would apply.

NABRIED indicated that CP leaders in other Districts would probably also apply for passports.

HENNRICH

- 3 - Bureau (100-3) (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- ① - 100-4931
- 1 - 100-16785
- 5 - Philadelphia
- 1 - 100-1502
- 1 - 65-1686 (THOMAS NABRIED)
- 1 - 100-20310 (JACK S. ZUCKER)
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - 100-42205 (CINAL, LIBRARY)

WEH:KSK
(10)



24

SAC, Chicago

December 19, 1958

Director, FBI (100-3)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The desirability of moving the headquarters of the Communist Party (CP), USA, and the offices of "The Worker" to Chicago continues to be a matter under discussion by the Party. At the recent national committee meeting the subcommittee, which was studying the move, was discharged and the matter was referred to the national executive committee for further consideration. It does not appear, however, that the Party is any closer to a move now than it was in February, 1957, when a possible move was presented to the national convention. The Party may not move to Chicago but, on the other hand, a decision could be reached and the move could be consummated within a relatively brief period of time.

In order for the Bureau to continue to successfully discharge its obligations and responsibilities, it will be essential that we be prepared well in advance for any transfer of Party headquarters to Chicago. It is realized that many of the complications which would result from such a move, as far as the Bureau is concerned, cannot be foreseen at this time. There are numerous factors involving the Bureau's operations which will be subject to some advance planning. For example, such matters as personnel needs, office space requirements and the nature and extent of coverage of Party activities such as is now being afforded in New York and which must be considered in Chicago, can and should be analyzed.

The Bureau desires that both New York and Chicago give consideration to the problems with which the Bureau would be confronted if Party headquarters are transferred to Chicago at sometime in the future. The Bureau does not desire that this be undertaken as a special project or that any elaborate plans be drawn up, but rather that it be a matter of continuing thought, analysis and planning. As previously pointed out, the

② - New York

100-4931-12215

Waters W

Letter to SAC, Chicago
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
100-8

Bureau does not feel that a move is any more imminent now than it was in February, 1957, however, the Bureau does not want to be caught short should the Party decide to make a transfer on short notice.

Both New York and Chicago should have in mind definite suggestions, recommendations and ideas which can be presented to the Bureau should the need arise. The Bureau feels that each SAC should take a personal interest in this situation with particular emphasis as to how a Party move would affect his office.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-130643)

12/30/58

SA A. LEWIS BARNETT (413)

SM - C

wa

b6
b7C
b7D

on 11/6/58.

Street, [redacted] made available the letter quoted below to SA [redacted] requested that her identity be kept confidential and her reliability is unknown. Letter is directed to [redacted] from the subject. It is being maintained as an exhibit in [redacted]. The letter is set forth below:

"September 19, 1958

"When I answered your letter this morning I had just arrived at the office. Now, in the evening, I have reread it and feel that I failed really to give you a reply. Edith is taking some evening courses to prepare for a possible part-time job that will eventually help us to have a few material things my budget does not include -- chiefly, we hope, a trip to Europe in a few years and a larger apartment. So I shall use this time to sketch out a further reply.

"Parts of your second-last paragraph were ambiguous to the point of being cryptic. First your allusion to socialism -- you are 'more interested than even,' and feel 'betrayed and cheated' that I sent you books on Gandhi and Christian pacifism -- did you mean 'instead of the real stuff'? Then you say, 'Intelligence forces me to realize that we are of the same color, you and I.' Did you mean politically -- red? The inference is strengthened by your reference to 'your currently solid position along old lines.' This is followed by a series of remarks that seem to imply that I am concealing from you the 'inside dope.'

1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (415)
1 - New York (100-95003) (Monthly Review) (411)
1 - New York (100-104510) (PAUL SWEEZY) (424)
1 - New York (100-8599) (LEO HUBERMAN) (424)
1 - New York (100-49738) (SP - SDF) (413)
1 - New York (100-4013) (SWP) (413)
1 - New York (100-6680) (ISL) (413)
1 - New York (100-125068) (DISSENT) (413)
1 - New York (100-130643)

ALB:fef

(9)

100-4931-12216

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 3 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. J. Waters

NY 100-130643

"Let me try to recapitulate, in brief, my political autobiography and then proceed to a sketch of what I now think. Ten years ago, for about a year, I was a member of the Communist Party. For a number of reasons I have been reluctant to admit this afterward, although I was quite outspoken about it at the time; nowadays I tell everything about my political position of that time except my actual membership. I had misgivings about joining right from the start; although I believed ardently in theoretical Marxism and in what I thought was the building of socialism in Russia, the lack of imagination and initiative in the American CP put me in the odd position of being more hopeful of Soviet Communism than of its American satellite party. Over a period of months my misgivings grew, and I began to have misgivings then also about the Russian CP and the USSR. In my naivete, I thought at first that better brains, such as mine, would solve the problem. But when the Daily Worker published a gratuitous and fantastic attack on Tito after his expulsion from the Cominform, I had to get out. In two separate articles reprinted from Pravda, Tito was accused of collaborating with the Nazis at the time he was leader of the Partisans; and of wearing cosmetics and engaging in homosexual orgies with Randolph Churchill! This was the last straw. Earlier efforts at friendly criticism in letters to John Gates and Howard Fast, who have just left the Party in recent months, were fruitless; I have their letters somewhere -- they politely rebuffed each one of my mild criticisms (for instances I asked why even the poorest Soviet films were acclaimed by the Worker's movie reviewer, and why Stalin, ostensibly a great leader of the workers, was fawned over and adulated like a demi-god).

"It must be noted that, in the CP, I received a steady series of inoculations against other movements that might bid for my loyalty. The Party takes for granted one's hostility to capitalism and does not regard political liberalism as a threat. But there is a veritable demonology

NY 100-130643

"in reference to Trotskyist Marxism, Social Democracy, Anarchism and democratic or non-Marxist socialism. When I left, therefore, although I exited to the left, so to speak, I was in mortal fear of falling among the Trotskyists who were there to greet me. So I dallied for a time with Monthly Review, which is sympathetic to the CP, fairly uncritical of the USSR and generally more readable and intelligent than the CP press -- it represented during the period of Stalinist excess, the kind of 'liberal' Communism now in power in the USSR. I dallied with MR for perhaps a year, but just before they published a poem of mine ('I, Afraca') I became convinced of the futility of attempting to liberalize the Communist left, but which I mean not only the CP itself but the whole complex of fellow-traveling individuals and organizations and fronts. My departure from Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman and their like (the editors of MR) thus constituted the decisive break -- this, not my formal resignation from the CP. Now parenthetically I must mention that during this period I lost nearly all my friends -- or, to be more accurate, I discovered that people whom I regarded as my closest friends turned out to be only comrades, and their loyalty and interest depended upon the political link for their reality. Virtually all my friends in college were in this category; when I quit I was almost completely alone and had to begin finding new friends. I was as thoroughly steeped in Communism as any commissar, and probably more so. Only Edith stood by me, and during that time even this relationship was not the real kind of friendship, for she regarded socialism as a rival and reproached me bitterly many times, almost constantly. This was one among the factors that caused us to break up in 1954.

"When I made the break with Monthly Review, I clutched briefly at the image of the Socialist Party, trying vainly to invest it with the earlier grandeur of Debs. I even applied for membership, but six weeks later, when my

NY 100-130643

"membership in the SP was confirmed, I had already decided that the SP was too moribund for me to hope by my lone efforts to breathe any radical life into it. It was too much like liberalism, it was not active enough, not revolutionary enough.

"Then I warily turned to the Trotskyists, the Socialist Workers Party. I did not join, but came very close. I read a number of books by Trotsky and boned up on back issues of Fourth International as I had earlier done with copies of the Communist periodicals of bygone years, during the last phase of my CP membership. I must remark parenthetically here that it is of immense value to get a sense of the history and tradition and past issues of a movement; it is an important test of the roots, and it is these which a movement grows from: never take the present image for granted without seeing how it got that way and whether it really is what it seems. And examining the actual materials -- not just a later description of them, which may be distorted to an ulterior purpose.

"I came to feel that although the SWP was infinitely superior to the CP in integrity and cogency, it was bogged down in a cult of Trotsky-worship -- not worship of the person, as the CP idolized Stalin, but of Trotsky's thought, which they had dogmatized, so that current problems could only be answered by reference to Trotsky's last thought on the subject. This led the SWP into some pretty strange attitudes, such as their description of the Stalinist dictatorship as a 'degenerated workers state' which despite its corruption was to be defended as the only existing bulwark of socialism -- even though Trotskyists were hunted down like animals there!

"Next I turned to the Independent Socialist League, an organization which held Trotsky in high esteem but which

NY 100-130643

"had a more imaginative leadership and outlook and did not seek to dogmatize Trotsky. Under a pen name I carried on a published correspondence in the ISL's weekly, Labor Action, for several months. It was honest, courageous and independent within a Marxist-Leninist framework.

"All the foregoing groups except the Socialist Party, have in common the Heritage of Leninist Marxism, with various perversions and permutations. As a result of the cumulative experience I have described, with a continuing concern for the woeful divisions between all these groups and still others with which I had no direct contact (e.g., the Socialist Labor Party), I began to doubt the wisdom of the 'founding fathers,' and to seek a firmer basis for socialism than either Lenin or Marx.

"Then Dissent magazine was founded by a group of dissident individuals from the ISL and the SP, together with mavericks from no organization, and even one anarchist. I had high hopes for the new venture, and poured my energies into it, attending editorial board meetings, doing proofreading, etc. I think even now that Dissent is the best thing American socialists have yet produced; and there is a real desire on the part of many who are associated with it to rethink socialism in terms of a post-Marxian synthesis, taking advantage of the developments in sociology and psychology and economics that have occurred since Marx. I am supposed to have a short article in the forthcoming issue. But it no longer commands my enthusiasm as it used to.

"I would still call myself a socialist, but of a different kind. I have not thoroughly worked out my present views, but I will sketch them briefly. Capitalism is bad in a number of ways -- its moral basis is wrong: greed, exploitation, impersonalization, commercialization of culture, unjust distribution of wealth, etc. The Marxist remedy, as it has worked out, however, is also bad in many ways: regimentation, leveling of cultural standards downwards, even worse impersonalization, and the destruction of self-government. An alternative must be found which will

NY 100-130643

"remedy the ills of capitalism without substituting for them a complex of worse ills.

"My belief now is that the reconstruction of society must be accompanied by the regeneration of basic values of the person. Only part of the social problem is social as such, and the best a social system can do is to provide a matrix for the cultivation of good persons upon whom the society must depend for its success. The failure of Leninism is due largely to lack of a proper understanding of the nature of man, both his capacity for good and his proclivity of evil. The Bolshevik revolution degenerated into the tyranny of Stalinism and the lesser tyranny of the present because it tacitly presupposed saintliness in its leaders.

"Marxism itself is strongly based, without being aware of it, on a set of presuppositions based on a faulty estimate of the nature of man. Marxism in some ways like the Old Testament prophets, except that he has dispensed with the understanding of human nature which the latter had.

"Consider, for instance, the extent to which the Marxist-Leninist groups depend upon the courage and dedication of individuals willing to sacrifice all for the cause -- this is an observable fact. But no allowance is made for this fact in theory: this fact is taken for granted. No resources are provided to nourish these individual virtues, and when they languish in the wake of revolution, deep-seated drives to power emerge to undo the fruits of native courage. -- Marxism has addressed itself to the immediate but neglected the dimension of depth in man -- the question of being and existence -- so that it turns out that its

NY 100-130643

"faith, the dynamism which moves it into action, is an unexplicated sentiment rather than a basic attitude or stance on the ethical plane or a commitment on the religious plane. It has taken a partial insight and made it normative for the totality; it has taken the findings of nineteenth-century political economy and erected them into a immutable ultimate reality -- all of which does not correspond to reality.

"Socialism must be rethought from a new ethical base rooted in an adequate understanding of the primal relations of man in the universe. Socialism must relate itself to a sense of ultimate purpose; it must begin with an adequate theology which understands man both in essence and in actuality, and which points the way to the triumph of the former within the latter. Socialism must provide an adequate means for the redemption of humanity both as individuals and as community; it must afford scope to the free exercise of responsibility toward the fulfillment both of individual persons and of the community of persons. One of the gravest problems in all societies is the problem of justice -- the equity of conflicting claims. When two persons mutually seek power over one another, how do you reconcile their claims? The Christian way is through the mediation of love -- the ministry of reconciliation! -- but the social problem is how to develop patterns of social order which will subordinate justice to love.

"I hope I have at least begun to convey both the depth and magnitude of the problem, and the extent to which it has concerned me for the past ten years. Don't think that the answers are easy or that any available book on socialism would even begin to be adequate. Nevertheless, I want to list a few of the books that have been particularly valuable to me.

NY (100-130643)

Roads to Freedom -- Bertrand Russell
Problems of Social Reconstruction -- Bertrand Russell
Power: A New Social Analysis -- Bertrand Russell
Poetry and Anarchism -- Herbert Read
Christianity and Social Order -- William Temple
Christianity and Society -- Nels F.S. Ferre
Ideology and Utopia -- Karl Mannheim
The Meaning of Marxism -- G.D.H. Cole
Karl Marx -- Leon Trotsky
The Revolution Betrayed -- Leon Trotsky
The End of a Revolution -- Fritz Sternberg
Science, Liberty and Peace -- Aldous Huxley
Man for Himself -- Erich Fromm
The Sane Society -- Erich Fromm
The Art of Loving -- Erich Fromm
Marx and Lenin: The Science of Revolution -- Max Eastman
Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in World Socialism --
M. Eastman
Socialism, National and International -- Franz Borkenau
History of Socialist Thought -- G.D.H. Cole
The Forging of American Socialism -- Guy Quint
Memoirs of a Revolutionist -- Dwight Macdonald
To the Finland Station -- Edmund Wilson

This is by no means a complete list; many books, such as the descriptions by John Reed, Bertrand Russell, John Dewey and Andre Gide of their visits to Russia; the histories and reportage of Trotsky, Victor Serge, Bertram Wolfe and others; biographies; innumerable periodicals and pamphlets of different vintages and viewpoints; fictional accounts pro and con such as those by Leonid Leonov, Mikhail Sholokhov, Victor Serge, Manes Sperber, Arthur Koestler and George Orwell (which reminds me that many of his essays were of crucial value to me. And I have left out numerous

NY 100-130643

"books, which, although not dealing directly with politics or society, have had great relevance -- for instance, The Human Tradition by Blackham and The Courage to Be by Tillich. I have left out all of the books of Marx, Engels and Lenin that I have read, as well as those by other orthodox Marxists such as Plekhanov and Kautsky, and various ephemeral books of apologia or mere propaganda.

"Among the books I plan to read and would recommend by reputation are: Mutual Aid by Pyotr Kropotkin, Ends and Means by Aldous Huxley, The Power Elite by C. Wright Mills, Freedom and Organization by Bertrand Russell, and Work and Contemplation by Douglas V. Steere. At present, however, all of these take second place to my interest in theology and religion --- in this department I have a whole shelf of books awaiting me.

"Well, I hope that will hold you for a while. I was tempted to go into the reasons why pacifism is for me inextricably bound up with socialism as I now see it, and both subsidiary to a Christian existentialist view of man, but I would be up all night if I did that. Probably I have already said much more than you bargained for, and bored you to death. I wonder if I would bore you as much if we were talking.

"One thing I want to stress, and that is the need for what Ferre calls 'whole-thinking' and 'whole-response' as contrasted with 'part-thinking' and 'part-response'. On another level, Horace Kallen calls for 'orchestrating' or 'integrating' our various attitudes. There is something here more than simply an attempt to piece together the fragments of our knowledge; there is a recognition that even though perception may be analytical, reality is a whole.

NY 100-130643

"If I talk about my intelligence or about my body or about my likes and dislikes, I am talking about parts of a whole. None of these separately can answer the root questions of my existence. Analysis is to some extent arbitrary; in real life there is no neat boundary between the personal and the social; so our basic stance must proceed from an all-embracing concern rooted in the depths of selfhood and encompassing the universe, within which concern the analyzed components of part-experiencing may be recomposed into the whole. All our lives are a process of seeking completeness -- the sexes coupling with each other, the solitary couple socializing in groups, and so on, the individual reaching out for fulfillment in friendship and fellowship with other human beings and with nature. Although mortal, we delve into the distance past and grope towards an illimitable future. Although finite, we reach out across the miles and into boundless space. And we may probe into ourselves too and into other selves than our own, looking for purpose and meaning and worth -- and competition. What we find depends upon how deeply and far we see, or how quickly we are stopped and curbed by minor and petty things. Here is a woman who can see no farther into herself than the cosmeticized surface of her skin; here is a man whose entire life is spent in a round of monotonous work and escape from that monotony in tawdry television shows -- and both are kinsmen of Beethoven, Picasso and Sophocles! In this observation is a hint of what Jesus meant when he offered men eternal life: most people are dead already, before physical death has overtaken them.

"Yet there are various dimensions; it is not a question of one or the other, but of degrees. Think, seriously of you and me. I am right now troubled by an ambiguity in my attitude to you -- you are a person, precious in the sight of the God I worship, and I love you in this

NY 100-130643

"dimension forever and without stint; I love the person you are and will always be; I may look into the face of a child and love you, seeing you as the child you were, or, seeing a grayhaired old woman I may imagine you in old age and love you as the old woman you will someday be. There is infinite caring in this love, for it is the love which is God, and in it we are joined eternally. Whether conscious or for long periods unconscious, it endures forever.

"You are not my only love in this way. I love Edith this way too, and the children. And Nels Ferre, although I have not met him. And Kirby Page, whom I met once before he died. And Jesus, who died two millenia ago. Do I not love everyone likewise? The fact is, I don't, although I want to. But the curious thing is that I have not always loved even these as I do.

"Let me go back to you. You write three figures -- 36-25-36 -- and a memory of physical beauty registers in my mind and I visualize the contours of your body, almost feel the tactile sensations thrilling my hands and lips. This is not eternal, but it is another kind of love, less than for your person and not incompatible with it. Indeed the deeper caring enriches the desire and seems to sanctify it. Believe me, I long for that transitory delight of the senses, and my anticipation excites me.

"I feel this kind of love for Edith too, and we have lived it out from day to day over the years, and it is with her that I have first seen in its fulness the other, higher love, although I knew a foretaste of it with you. Now absence has kept your body new for me, and I would go to it greedily. But I am distressed in a conflict of loyalties now which I do not fully understand -- it is not conventional morality, which I dread to partake of -- and I suspect that an affair with you would cause me to feel guilt. Could I caress your body without damaging my love

NY 100-130643

"for you as a person, or would it somehow damage my relationship to Edith? Perhaps what I fear is causing her the anxiety and anguish of jealousy, but this comes as an afterthought, and in any case discretion would insure against that. Perhaps it is just that which provokes guilt -- the deceit which this kind of discretion implies.

"In the final analysis these points are academic, because your mood has probably changed since you last wrote, and in any case I do not expect that you will come to see me. If you did, I cannot see how I could deny you my most fervent affection, though I suffered shame within for hiding with you. We cannot hide from God, you know. Nor from ourselves. I am trying to be honest in this, but already I am ensnared: to be honest with you means I must be dishonest with Edith so as to avoid her jealousy. There are innumerable reasons why I should place my loyalty to her above my affection for you. But here I am, wanting what I do not deserve -- the best of you.

"It will be easier for me if you continue to write me at the office; all mail clearly addressed to me goes directly to me. I wish the photo you were sending did not show you in your black basic dress, but really backless, frontless, etc. I'd like to have you with nothing on but the pearls -- what a keepsake that would be!

"Love,"

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-132430)

DATE: 1/5/59

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (#42)

b6
b7cSUBJECT: INDUSTRIAL BOARD, CP, USA
NY DISTRICT, NY INDUSTRIAL DIVISION
IS-C

Identity of Source:	NY 2443-S*
Reliability:	Who was in a position to furnish reliable information
Description:	Industrial Board Meeting
Place:	Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, NYC Room 10G
Date Received:	12/10/58
Date of Activity:	12/10/58
Agents to whom furnished:	SA [REDACTED] and SA EDWARD J. MULHOLLAND

The names in parenthesis are the opinion of the reporting agent and should not be construed as a positive identification.

- ① - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA, NYD) (#415)
- 1 - NY 100-128814 (CP, USA, NYD - Organization) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-132505 (CP, USA, NYD - Distributive Region) (#42)
- 1 - NY 100-132477 (CP, USA, NYD - Food and Bakers Region) (#422)
- 1 - NY 97-169 ("Worker") (#415)

FZB:rag
(19)

100-4931-12217

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 5 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. J. Waters

NY 100-132430

In the event that it is necessary to disseminate any of the following information, care should be taken to protect the identity of the informants.

On [redacted] (conceal), [redacted]
[redacted] who has furnished
reliable information in the past, advised SA [redacted]
[redacted] that a reservation was made in the name of the
"Writers Club" for a meeting to be held on Wednesday
evening, 12/10/58, in Room 10G. It is noted that the
Industrial Board, CP, USA, New York District, Industrial
Division, had previously met at Adelphi Hall under the
name "Writers Club". This source also advised this
reservation was made in the name of M. DAVIDOW. It is
to be noted that MICHAEL DAVIDOW is the subject of
NY file 100-56.

b7D

COPIES CONTINUED

- 1 - NY 100-128813 (CP, USA, NYD - Pamphlets and Publications) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-128822 (CP, USA, NYD - Education) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-128817 (CP, USA, NYD - Membership) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-128809 (CP, USA, NYD - Strategy in Industry) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-128812 (CP, USA, NYD - Political Activities) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-128818 (CP, USA, NYD - Legislative Activities) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (#415)
- 1 - NY 100-56 (MIKE DAVIDOW) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-67003 (BOB KATZ) (#425)
- 1 - NY 100-86094 (LOUIS DINNERSTEIN) (#422)
- 1 - NY 100-109560 (PAUL SCHWARTZ) (#422)
- 1 - NY 100-13483 (BETTY GALT) (#422)
- 1 - NY 100-50094 (ESTHER CANTOR) (#416)
- 1 - NY 100-132430 (#42)

NY 100-132430

A physical surveillance was conducted on the evening of 12/10/58 at the entrance to Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, NYC, by SAS [redacted] ROBERT D. SHEA and [redacted] and the following individuals who entered 74 Fifth Avenue, NYC, were identified as known members of the Industrial Board:

b6
b7c

- 1) LOUIS WEINSTOCK - identified by SA [redacted]
- 2) MIKE DAVIDOW - identified by SAS [redacted]
and [redacted]
- 3) BOB KATZ - identified by SA [redacted]
- 4) LOUIS DINNERSTEIN - identified by SAS [redacted]
and [redacted]
- 5) PAUL SCHWARTZ - identified by SA [redacted]
- 6) BETTY GALLIETT - identified by SA [redacted]
- 7) ESTHER CANTOR - identified by SA [redacted]

This meeting was covered by NY 2443-S* (conceal), who was in a position to furnish reliable information, who advised this was a meeting of the Industrial Board of captioned organization. The informant advised this meeting began at 8:00 p.m. and the following was announced by the Chairman (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) as the agenda for this meeting:

- 1) Report on the Bakers Union
- 2) Announcements
- 3) Report on the newspaper strike
- 4) National Committee Report

The informant advised the chairman made several announcements and then a report was given by an unknown male in regard to the newspaper strike. He advised the

NY 100-132430

strike started on Sunday evening and the negotiations continued until early the next morning. The negotiations committee voted 14 to 3 to accept the proposals, and the executive committee voted 8 to 2 against the contract. Consequently all publishers stopped publishing their newspapers. The informant advised the employees of the "Herald Tribune" went to work in the morning and only 20 per cent of the employees were left in the afternoon. No one reported to work at the "Daily News". The unknown male (employee of the "Daily News") advised the following night 9 employees did not show up for work and were fired, but immediately reinstated. The "Daily News" has not published one edition of the newspaper since the strike. They will lock out the entire industry and all the workers. He also advised that the Communist Party has members employed at these newspapers and they should not be isolated or find themselves playing a leftist role. He advised that "our people are working where they are all working, and our people are out where they are all out." The informant advised a discussion took place concerning the different contracts in regard to delivering the newspapers.

The unknown male advised if you want to buy a newspaper, you have to walk through a picket line.

An unknown female advised the newspaper strike should increase the sale of the "Worker" and more copies should be sold this week end. The unknown female gave a short report on Political Action. She advised a sub-committee was set up but it failed to function.

NY 100-132430

The Chairman advised that the Democratic Party did not make an issue of the right to work law.

The informant advised a long discussion took place concerning labor's part in the election and a third party system.

The Chairman mentioned the Civil Rights Commission in Alabama and that the federal government should force the schools to reopen.

The informant advised a discussion took place in regard to the next meeting and the following dates were mentioned, but no definite date was set: 12/18, 21, 22 and 23/58.

The Chairman announced that the next report will be on the bakery industry and union.

An unknown male, BOB (KATZ), advised there are 3,500 bakery members in Local 405. He gave a short history of the bakery union. BOB (KATZ) advised there were many decisions handed down from above, without actually knowing what the situation was in the industry. He also advised that in Local 579, where the progressives adopted a policy of not fighting with the membership and administration, did much better although they were not respected by the right, but the right was forced to recognize the fact that they had to work with them. He also advised the most significant development in the bakery industry is the merging of six bakery locals into

NY 100-132430

Local #3. Where progressive forces have been in leadership in the industry, they have done the most good in contrast to just a rank and file program within the industry. Where there were only rank and file members working, they were sometimes isolated. BOB (KATZ) advised that an educational program should be set up to help lead the union members into progressive circles. This will help to recruit some of our old members back into the Party.

An unknown male advised that one of their past mistakes was due to the fact that they opposed the administration when they should have been working with them, and that one of the failures of the bakery industry was due to the ultra-left activity.

An unknown female complimented BOB (KATZ) for his report on the history of the bakery industry and its locals, and she also mentioned that this meeting was a meeting of the Industrial Board.

The Chairman announced that a motion was made to adjourn. This motion was seconded and the meeting adjourned at 10:35 p.m.

The informant advised that it was mentioned when the people were departing that this was also a meeting of the "Writers Club".

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: 1/7/59

FROM : ASAC N. H. McCabe

SUBJECT: MOVING OF IMPORTANT MEMBERS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY FROM
CALIFORNIA TO NEW YORK CITY

SAC
 DW. 1
 DW. 2
 DW. 3
 DW. 4
 SEC. 1
 SEC. 2
 SEC. 3
 SEC. 4

b6
 b7C

On the morning of January 7, 1959, [redacted]

[redacted] who is a [redacted]

by occupation, called at the office and advised me that he had received information from a "professional investigator" who he considers very reliable; that several second and third string California Communists have moved to New York recently and that all of their travel and moving expenses have been paid by the Communist Party. The purpose of their coming to New York City is to uncover as much highly classified technological information as they can and as rapidly as they can, particularly information concerning the defense industry. [redacted] stated that he had promised his source that he would not divulge his identity and wanted to pass this information on to us as quickly as possible.

[redacted] was thanked for coming to this office with this information, and was advised that in the event the source received any more specific information as to the identity of the individuals who are moving to New York City from California, we would like to have such information.

NHM:RAA

(2)

1 - ASAC N. H. McCabe

100-4931-12218

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 15 1959	
FBI NEW YORK	

Waters

SAC, New York.

1/8/59

SAC, Miami (100-800)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 31, 1958, MM 608-S* furnished a copy of a letter dated September 8, 1958, which was in the possession of BERTHA TELOW, aka Clara Lester, who is the Communist Party Organizer for Florida. This letter is from one "P," who resides at 47 1/2 East 7th Street, New York 3, New York. From the tone of the conversation, "P" apparently is or in the past has been a member of the Communist Party.

A copy of the letter is being transmitted herewith for New York's information.

- ② - New York (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 2 - Miami (100-800)
(100-13283)

CBS:mjs
(4)

*Original - photostat of letter
checked in 100 - new
insert female name
initial as P and number
at 47 1/2 7th ST NYC
SM-C*

100-4931-12219

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 12 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

SAC, NEW YORK (100-100606)

1/9/59

SA JOHN J. HAYES #12

[redacted] wa
SM-C

b6
b7c

[redacted] of INS, CI 6-4165,
X 216 telephonically requested me on 1/8/59 at 3:00 PM
to supply INS with a copy of the NY report of the 16th
National Convention of February 1957. He said that INS
is interested in getting this because of their case on
[redacted] He said that she had an active part
in the Convention.

I told [redacted] that I would check this and
let him know.

100-100606 is presently charged out as of
12/31/58. It is noted that the requested report is (100-4931-11315) is
extremely voluminous, running 756 pages. It is also
noted that 2 of the NY copies have been sent to the
Bureau. It is also noted that [redacted] is
not indexed as being mentioned in this report.

Section 415 is requested to advise whether
it is o.k. to make the report available for the
review of the interested INS Agent, it being noted
that copies of the report were sent to the Service
agencies. Alternatively we could refer INS to the
Bureau where extra copies would undoubtedly be
available.

1-16-59
after clearing with S.A. J.V. [redacted], I
1-NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) permitted INS Agent [redacted]

[redacted] to review report of 3-6-57
Serial 11315

(100-4931- Vol 206 Parts 1, 2, and 3 - minus 215)

JJH:ECM
(2)

administrative pages.

[redacted] found nothing pertaining

to [redacted]

J J Hayes
#12

100-4931-11315

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JAN 13 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/20/59	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/1/58 - 1/16/59
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST PARTY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH V. WATERS	TYPED BY rag
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

SYNOPSIS:

REFERENCE:

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, New York, dated 10/20/58.

- P -

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report pertinent activity of the CP, USA for the quarterly period 1/1/59 to 3/31/59.

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE:		
7 - Bureau (100-3) (RM)		
1 - G-2, First Army (RM)		
1 - ~~ONE~~ OSI District, USAF (RM)		
1 - ~~DIO, 3rd Naval District (RM)~~		
1 - ALL OFFICES (RM)		
1 - New York (100-4931) (1 copy to DIO)		

FILE STRIPPED
BY D.P. ON 4/4/70

NY 100-4931

LEADS (CONT'D)

ALL OFFICES

Copies of instant report are designated for the information of all offices in accordance with specific Bureau instructions.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information from sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which could be prejudicial to national security in that coverage of activities of the CP, USA would be impaired. Examples of such sources are:

NY T-1, NY T-2, NY T-3, NY T-8, NY T-13 and NY T-16.

The SA who observed CP leaders enter or leave the premises of the Soviet Delegation to the United Nations, 680 Park Avenue, NYC, on 11/7/58, was SA

b6
b7C

No information was developed during the period of this report, 10/1/58 to 12/31/58, concerning the following activities of the CP, USA. These items are:

Membership
Underground Operations
United Nations
Colonial Matters
Women's Matters and
Veterans' Matters

JVW:jr
(1)

NY 100-4931

INFORMANTS

Identity
of Source

Date of Activity
And/Or Description of Information

T-1
NY 694-S*

Program of CP, USA in Negro and Southern work.
Status of National Office reserve fund.
JAMES JACKSON's comments re: CHARLES LOMAN's trip to USSR. Negro Marxist Journal scheduled to appear in February, 1959.
ROBERT THOMPSON's comments re: LOMAN's trip to USSR.
Furnished NEC statement: "Guard the Unity of the Party".
JACKSON's comments re: FRED FINE's resignation.
JACKSON's comments re: NEC meeting, 11/18-20/58.
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG's comments re: WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

- C -

COVER PAGE

JVW: jr
(2)

NY 100-4931

Identity
of Source

Date of Activity
And/Or Description of Information

T-1 CONTINUED

Letter, 11/12/58, by PAT TOOHEY.
Financial Committee meetings on
10/10/58.

Letter of HY LUMER, 12/12/58, covering
teachers guide on dialectical materialism.
Insistence of ROBERT THOMPSON and BENJAMIN
DAVIS, apparently at instigation of WILLIAM
Z. FOSTER, on holding convention in July,
1959, and concern of JAMES JACKSON and EUGENE
DENNIS.

Circular letter #6, dated 11/14/58, of
Draft Program Committees

Expectation of ROBERT THOMPSON of
returning to jail and reassignment of
his duties.

Appointment of [] to take charge
of cultural activities of CP, USA and NYSCP

b6
b7c

Documentation: LEMENT BACON HARRIS
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

T-2
CG 5824-S*

Document entitled: "The Class Forces
in the Negro People's Movement."
Conference of Western Hemisphere CPs
to be held in Moscow during 21st Congress.
Document entitled "Program in Regard to
"Black Belt".

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG's travel plans.

PAUL NOVICK's travel plans.

Document entitled: "Political work in
the two old parties".

CP, USA request that LPP send two delegates
to auto meeting, Detroit.

- D -

COVER PAGE

JVW: jr
(3)

NY 100-4931

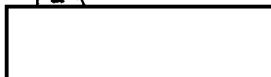
Identity of
Source

Date of Activity
And/Or Description of Information

T-2
CONTINUED

Circulation of "World Marxist Review"
EUGENE DENNIS' remarks re: sending
greeting to CPs of Chile and Colombia.
Need for increased circulation of
Marxist classics and CP pamphlets
stressed at National Committee meeting,
12/9,10/58.
Proceedings of NEC meeting, 11/19/58.
Document "On the Celebration of the
41st Anniversary of the Soviet Union
and 25 years of American-Soviet Diplomatic
Relations".
Letter of JAMES E. JACKSON and ROBERT
THOMPSON, 11/25/58, inviting "Dear
Comrade" to NC Meeting.
Addition of IRVING POTASH to NEC and
appointment as CP Labor Secretary.
Documentation of ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG,
GEORGE MORRIS, JAMES ALLEN, BURT NELSON,
HY LUMER, ROBERT THOMPSON, ANTHONY
KROCHMAREK, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN,
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

T-3



Furnished proceedings of NEC meeting,
10/8/58, re resignations.
Meeting of sub-committee on Farm Program
on 10/11/58.
Meeting of National Committees 12/6,7/58.
Documentation: PAT TOOHEY, CHARLES "BOB"
COE, ROSE COE, SIDNEY STEIN, LEMENT BACON
HARRIS.

b7D

- E -

COVER PAGE

JVW:jr
(4)

NY 100-4931

Identity of
Source

Date of Activity
and/or Description of Information

m-4



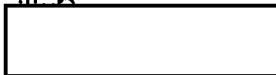
Letter of ROBERT THOMPSON, 10/31/58,
to NC members.
Letter dated 10/17/58, addressed:
"To All Districts" re: Amnesty Campaign
for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON,
accompanied by text of letter to President
EISENHOWER, 9/23/58.
"Immediate Tasks in Preparation for the
Opening of the 86th Congress" by JAMES E.
JACKSON.
Furnished DENNIS letter re: resignations.

b7D

T-5
NY 2010-S*

ARNOLD JOHNSON announced parole hearing
for GREEN and WINSTON, 11/13/58.
Location of National Office of CP, USA.

mc6



National Council of American-Soviet
Friendship meeting, 11/14/58.
Bronx Civil Liberties Committee meeting,
11/17/58.
Documentation: SCOPE.

T-7
NY 2379-S*

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN discussed Amnesty
Campaign, 11/23/58.
SIMON GERSON outlined report for
Amnesty for HENRY WINSTON at meeting on
12/29/58.

T-8
NY 2002-S*

Letter, 11/24/58, from ROBERT THOMPSON
to JIM WEST.
Letter from ARNOLD JOHNSON, dated 11/24/58,
re: Amnesty Campaign for GREEN and WINSTON.
Furnished cablegram, dated 11/3/58, from
CPSU to CPUSA.
Financial status of CP National Office,
11/30/58.

JVW:jr
(5)

NY 100-4931

Identity of
Source

Date of Activity
And/Or Description of Information

T-8 CONTINUED

Location of National Office of CP, USA
Letter to all CP districts from ROBERT THOMPSON, dated 12/15/58, urging increased distribution of PAUL ROBESON's book.
Letter dated 10/21/58, from BILL KASHTON, LPP to CPUSA.
Letter dated 11/14/58, from CP Netherlands to CPUSA.

m-o

Northeast Bronx CP meeting on 11/25/58, re Amnesty Campaign.

b6
b7C
b7D

T-10

Letter dated 11/29/58.

signed: [redacted]
Chairman, BCLC re: Amnesty Campaign.

Documentation: ^{Bronx} Civil Liberties Committee

T-11
NH 369-S*

Letter dated 10/24/58, addressed "To All Districts", regarding US Board of Parole hearing for GREEN and WINSTON, 11/13/58.
Letter dated 10/20/58, urges all CP Districts to utilize two new pamphlets dealing with unemployment, CP program, and US policy in Far East.

T-12
NY 1086-S

Documentation: CHARLES LOMAN, SIMON W. GERSON, CHARLES DIRBA, GEORGE WATT,
[redacted]

COVER PAGE

- G -

JVW:jr
(6)

NY 100-4931

Identity of
Source

Date of Activity
And/Or Description of Information

T-13
CG 5824-S*

Documentation: PETTIS PERRY, GEORGE MEYERS.
Furnished October, 1958, issued of "World Marxist Review".
Appointment of IRVING POTASH to post of Labor Secretary, CPUSA and decision to put him on Sub-committee.
EUGENE DENNIS' comments on permission for CP leaders to travel.
Info re: Work of Sub-Committee on Jewish Work.
GEORGE MORRIS' travel plans.
Furnished statement: "Statement on FRED FINES Resignation."
Proceedings at National Committee meeting, 12/7/58.
Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS on security measures.
Change of views of EUGENE DENNIS and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN on moving CP office to Chicago.
NEC meeting, 11/18,20/58. Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS on sending a delegation to the World Youth Festival.
Letter of ROBERT THOMPSON, dated 10/31/58, addressed "To all members of the N.E.C."
Schedule of Faculty of Social Science, Winter Term.

COVER PAGE

- H -

JVW: jr
(7)

NY 100-4931

Identity of
Source

Date of Activity
And/Or Description of Information

m-14
[redacted]

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON
on 10/24/58.

b7D

T-15
[redacted]

Memo re: Southern Solidarity Fund.

T-16
NY 2359-S*

Meetings of NEC on 10/21/58,
11/18-20/58.
Meeting of CP leadership on 10/28/58,
11/7/58, 11/11/58, 12/16/58 and 12/30/58.
Meetings of Draft Program Committee
on 11/25/58, 12/8/58.

T-17
[redacted]

Letter of ROBERT THOMPSON,
dated 10/31/58, to members of NEC.
Circular letter #5, dated 10/29/58,
signed by JAMES S. ALLEN, Secretary of
Draft Program Committee.

T-18
[redacted]

Discussion by HY LUMER on 10/18/58,
at meeting of Northern California
District Committee.

T-19
NY 1995-S*

Meeting of National Committee,
12/6,7/58.

COVER PAGE

JVW: jr
(8)

NY 100-4931

Identity of
Source

Date of Activity
And/Or Description of Information

T-20

Report of ROBERT THOMPSON at meeting of National Committee, 12/6,7/58.
Letter of NEC, 12/22/58, on convention referendum.
GEORGE MEYERS' remark re: Postponement of Eastern Regional Youth Conference, 11/30/58.

b7D

T-21
NY 1697-S*

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's instructions to CHARLES LOMAN re: latter's trip to USSR.
FOSTER's plans for letter to MAO TSE-TUNG.
FOSTER's disclosure of his writing article on the Party program.
Documentation: ERIC BEET.

T-22

Info on plans of Italian group in CPUSA to establish newspaper in Canada.
Documentation: "L'Unita", ALEX GARDNER.

T- 23
NY 2361-S*

WILLIAM WEINSTONE's attempt to secure tickets to reception at Soviet Delegation to UN.

T-24

Letter, dated 11/24/58, containing summary of report made to NEC on results of November Elections.
Letter dated 11/4/58, from WILLIAM WAINWRIGHT CP of Great Britain to CPUSA.
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER letter, 12/2/58, to National Committee.

COVER PAGE

JVW:jr
(9)

NY 100-4931

Identity of
Source

Date of Activity
And/Or Description of Information

T-24 CONTINUED

Letter, dated 10/10/58, addressed
to all districts by HY LUMER.

T-25
CG 6202-S*

Documentation: JIM WEST
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT's comments on
NEC meeting, 11/18-19/58.

T-26
CSSF 2379-S*

Document entitled "Notes on the
Jewish Question in the USSR".

T-27

Documentation: Faculty of Social Science

b7D

T-28

Detail of illness of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,
his desire to travel, and his claim
CP leadership prevented his obtaining
passport and his seeing people.

T-29

Meeting of County CP Steel Club on
10/19/58.

COVER PAGE

- K -

NY 100-4931

JVW:jrc

Identity of
Source

Date of Activity and/or Description of
Information

T-30

[REDACTED]

Financial status of "The Worker" as
of 9/30/58.

b7D

T-31

[REDACTED]

Office of "The Worker" closing
on or before 11/22/58.

Office, National
Press Building, Washington,
D.C.,
(by request)

T-32

LOUIS BUDENZ
(by request)

Documentation: PAUL ROBESON

T-33

[REDACTED]

Documentation: Bronx Civil Liberties
Committee; PAUL NOVICK.

T-34

[REDACTED]

Documentation: Bronx Civil Liberties
Committee;

T-35

[REDACTED]

Midwest Regional Conference,
October 4 - 5, 1958.

T-36

[REDACTED]

National Auto Commission Meeting,
10/18/58.

COVER PAGE

- L -

NY 100-4931

JVW:jrc

Identity of
Source

Date of Activity and/or
Description of Information

b7D

T-37

[Redacted]

National Steel Commission Meeting,
10/25-26/58

T-38

[Redacted]

HY LUMER's remarks re: youth
meeting to be held San Francisco,
10/24/58

T-39

[Redacted]

Midwest Youth Conference, Chicago,
Ill., 11/15-16/58.

T-40

[Redacted]

Documentation: MICHAEL GOLD

T-41

[Redacted]

Meeting of Education Commission
of Southern California District
addressed by HY LUMER on 10/1/58.

T-42

[Redacted]

Meeting of Education Commission
of Southern California District
addressed by HY LUMER on 10/1/58.

T-43

[Redacted]

Address by HY LUMER on 10/6/58, of
Southern California District
Educational Committee. Disclosure
by LUMER on 10/10/58, of sub-
committee of National Educational
Committee.

COVER PAGE

- M -

NY 100-4931

JVW:jrc

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>
T-44 NY 2024-S*	Documentation: CHARLES LOMAN
T-45 NY 2179-S*	Documentation: GEORGE WATT
T-46 NY 1294-S*	Documentation: ART SHIELDS
T-47 [REDACTED]	Documentation: ART SHIELDS
T-48 NY 2083-S*	Documentation: ALBERT BLUMBERG
T-49 Former CSNY 426-S	Documentation: PHIL FONER
T-50 [REDACTED]	Documentation: MILTON ROSEN
T-51 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Academy Hall, NYC (by request)	Documentation: Faculty of Social Science

b7D

Symbols NY T-2 and NY T-13 have been used to further protect the identity of the source.

Careful consideration has been given to the use of T-symbols, and such have been used only where necessary to protect the identity of the source.

COVER PAGE

- N -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - G-2, First Army
1 - 2nd OSI District, USAF
1 - DIO, 3rd Naval District

Report of: SA JOSEPH V. WATERS Office: NEW YORK
Date: 1/20/59

File Number: Bureau 100-3; New York 100-4931

Title: COMMUNIST PARTY,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: QUARTERLY PERIOD, 10/1/58 to 12/31/58
ORGANIZATION CP, USA continues occupancy of premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York City. At NC meeting held December 6 and 7, 1958, EUGENE DENNIS reviewed election results, saying they represented victory for labor, emergence of progressive forces and defeat of reactionaries. JAMES E. JACKSON reported on Negro question to effect Negro no longer is based on agriculture and CP should abandon slogan of self-determination. Matter of removal of CP office to Chicago, Illinois, referred by meeting to NEC. Date for next CP Convention set for November, 1959, subject to approval by referendum among membership. ROBERT THOMPSON on CP situation

This document contains neither recommendations or conclusions of any kind. It is the property of the FBI, and is a loan to your agency; it and/or its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D):

said Party is more than holding its own. Referendum on Convention to be completed by February 10, 1959. HY LUMER on October 18, 1958, stated CP leadership feel preparation of Party program may take year and may not be ready by Convention time. At meeting of Program Committee on November 25, 1958, LUMER said he had found confusion over character and nature of program. ROBERT THOMPSON on December 15, 1958, in anticipation of return to jail to complete contempt sentence, believed his duties as executive and organizational secretary would devolve upon GUS HALL and MILTON ROSEN. IRVING POTASH appointed CP Labor Secretary by NEC at meeting, November 18 to 20, 1958. [redacted] appointed head of Cultural Activities of CP, USA and New York State CP.

FUNDS Income of CP, USA, January 1, 1958 to November 30, 1958, \$122,343.78, and expenditures \$119,976.48. Assets as of November 30, 1958, \$9,215.72, with liabilities of \$9,248.41. During 1958, CP withdrew approximately \$77,746.00 from Reserve Fund for operating expenses, balance of Reserve Fund at beginning of 1959 being \$30,125.00.

SECURITY MEASURES EUGENE DENNIS is reported having remarked leadership will occasionally glance at notes being taken to see if detail of assistance to FBI appears and efforts will be made to ferret out "enemy agents".

FACTIONALISM "World Marxist Review", October, 1958, in article "Consolidating the Ranks of the Communist Party of the United States" asserted CP, USA is surmounting obstacles and exposing opportunists of all hues and making headway on path mapped by its 16th Convention. NEC on November 21, 1958, adopted statement "Guard the Unity of the Party", in which pledge was given to struggle

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D):

against revisionism and dogmatism and call was issued for those who have left CP to find way back, but stress was laid on necessity of executing decisions to serve needs of working people.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CP, USA to announce its sending of delegate to 21st Congress of CP, SU to be held in Moscow, January 27, 1959, cabled invitation having been received November 3, 1958. ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, PAUL NOVICK, CHARLES LOMAN and GEORGE MORRIS reported to be departing on trips to U.S.S.R. for various purposes.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES By letter to NC members dated November 24, 1958, EUGENE DENNIS summarized report on results of election to NEC meeting on November 18, 1958. Voters are said to be dissatisfied with Administration's domestic program and foreign policy and that most pro-labor and pro-civil rights candidates were elected. A fresh approach to formation of Farmer-Labor-Negro People's Party is vital need, according to report. "Political Work in the Two Old Parties", by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, states political work of CP should be carried out in major parties, Labor-Negro-Farmer Party and CP.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES JAMES E. JACKSON's memo "Immediate Tasks in Preparation for the Opening of the 86th Congress", made available on November 24, 1958, directed campaign against Senate filibuster and for change in method of selecting key Congressional committee chairmen.

DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES ARNOLD JOHNSON in November 24, 1958 letter to all districts and NC members urged efforts to win amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON, and enclosed copy of letter dated September 23, 1958 to President EISENHOWER asking executive clemency.

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D):

Editorial in "The Worker", December 14, 1958, asked readers to protest "last minute move" of State Department to prevent travel abroad by GEORGE MORRIS, its labor editor. STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY CARL WINTER at CP Midwest Regional Conference at Chicago, October 4 and 5, 1958, suggested coalition between CP and unions and establishing national publication devoted to union matters. Meeting of National Steel Commission at Cleveland, October 25 and 26, 1958, decided to strengthen Left within United Steel Workers and publish a Steel Commission paper.

NEGRO QUESTION At NC meeting held December 6 and 7, 1958, JAMES E. JACKSON reported on Negro question, proposing new approach since South is no longer heart of Negro people's movement, that former slogan of self-determination for Negroes is no longer valid. His report was accepted as line and basis of discussion.

YOUTH MATTERS ROBERT THOMPSON at NEC meeting November 18 to 20, 1958, discussing organization of youth, said CP must organize forces in and around party, organize around 7th World Youth Festival and expand Marxist educational activity and that CP needs an organization educating youth in support of Socialism and developing activities as a Marxist organization.

FARMERS MATTERS Draft of Farm Section of CP program submitted to NC on November 12, 1958, asserts that tendency of US agriculture cannot be reversed under capitalism, that decisive factor at present is technological development which will force small farmers into cities. CP to support property rights of small and medium sized producers.

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D):

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES Editorial in "The Worker", November 8, 1958, asserts every enemy of Socialism and social progress, in U.S. and elsewhere, has joined attempt to use BORIS PASTERNAK's "Doctor Zhivago" to heat up cold war. Review of book in same issue describes it as "incredibly poorly written".

NATIONAL GROUPS Document of HY LUMER, "Notes on the Jewish Question in the USSR" states Communists must view problem of Jewish culture in USSR in perspective and must study question in totality, including American aspects.

RELIGION CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT in address before church group in Oak Park, Illinois, said only Socialism can create conditions under which ideals of Christian social creed can be realized.

PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS Assets of "The Worker" as of September 30, 1958 - \$27,732.79, and liabilities - \$116,442.10, with operating expenses for year to that date - \$125,201.42. Operating and other income, with donations of \$79,193.39, provided income gain of \$2,623.98 for nine month period. Average circulation for preceeding twelve months claimed to be 13,029 as of October, 1958. U.S. circulation of "World Marxist Review" reported to approximate 800 copies in November, 1958. JAMES E. JACKSON's proposal to establish Negro Marxist Journal adopted at resident NEC meeting in October 22, 1958.

EDUCATION HY LUMER on October 1, 1958, stated that for past few years serious lack of educational activity had prevailed, but in past year trend has been reversed. He said Faculty of Social Science has developed loose organization of trained teachers and expects to enroll 400 to 500 students in season ahead. On October 6, 1958, LUMER said NC and National Educational Committee were proposing regional training schools for cadre in East, Midwest and West, with latter Committee supplying teachers and material.

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D):

ATTEMPTS OF CP TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS ARNOLD JOHNSON on October 24, 1958, urged Communist youth to infiltrate religious organizations, if not only for ideological reasons then for use of their facilities, such as meeting halls and equipment; also they should present ideological arguments and show how Socialism works.

- P -

- 1E -

NY 100-4931

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITY	PAGE
Organization	4
Funds	28
Security Measures	32
Factionalism	34
International Relations	41
Political Activities	49
Legislative Activities	53
Domestic Administration Issues	55
Strategy in Industry	62
Negro Question	66
Youth Matters	73
Farmers Matters	79
Cultural Activities	83
National Groups	86
Religion	88
Pamphlets and Publications	89
Education	94
Attempts of Communist Party to Infiltrate Mass Organizations	98
II. IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS	99
III. GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS	112

NY 100-4931

This is a joint report of pertinent activities of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) during the quarterly period, October 1, 1958 to December 31, 1958, prepared by the following Special Agents:

FRANCIS J. COSTIGAN
MARVIN R. DORAN
JOHN R. HAWKEN
JAMES M. KIRBY

[REDACTED]

HAROLD P. QUINN

[REDACTED]

ALPHONSE J. SUTKUS
JOSEPH V. WATERS

b6
b7C

NY 100-4931

Organization
(Bureau file 100-3-69)
(New York file 100-80641)

This section was prepared by SA JOSEPH V.
WATERS.

National Office
CP, USA
23 West 26th Street
New York City

The continued occupancy by the National Office of the CP, USA of 23 West 26th Street, New York City, during the period October 1, 1958, to December 31, 1958, has been verified by NY T-5 and NY T-8.

The building at this address is a three story structure with a frontage of approximately twenty feet and the building also has a penthouse floor. The CP, USA maintains its offices on the third floor and the penthouse space is utilized as an office by EUGENE DENNIS. A conference room is located at the end of the third floor facing the street, and this is used for meetings by the leadership. Other areas on this floor are divided by partitions into space devoted to offices for individual Party leaders. "The Worker" offices are located on the first floor as well as the basement of this building.

JVW:efb
(2)

NY 100-4931

On the first floor are the editorial and research facilities of the paper and in the basement there is the office of the General Manager of "The Worker" as well as the paper's mailing equipment, and additional research material. "The Worker" is printed elsewhere by a printing firm.

On the second floor, the New York State CP has its offices and these consist of individual offices as well as a conference room similar to that of the CP, USA.

The first, second and third floors each have a receptionist desk located on foyers off the stairs and each of the three organizations has a telephone switchboard operated by the receptionist.

The street front of the building bears no sign identifying its occupants.

NY T-13 has reported that EUGENE DENNIS has changed his position with respect to moving the headquarters of the CP, USA to Chicago, DENNIS now favoring the move. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN has also been reported to have said that removal of the headquarters from New York City is the only way for the national organization to get away from the influence of BENJAMIN DAVIS and other leaders of the New York District of the CP.

NY 100-4931

Meetings of the
CP Leadership

NY T-16 has reported on October 21, 1958, that the National Executive Committee of the CP met on that day and JAMES E. JACKSON reported on the situation in the south. After reviewing efforts under his direction to establish the CP in the South, JACKSON said that there should be a voice for the Party on Negro problems and he pointed out that organizing a publication for that purpose would require further study. He noted that consideration had been given to holding a meeting on February 12, 1959, concerning such a magazine. He said that he was persuaded that a fund could be established for the work, money not obtained through appeals, but by means of money made available to the Southern Regional Committee.

JACK STACHEL then spoke on the situation in China and said that the American people did not want war and world opinion will make it impossible for the "Dulles line" to be continued. STACHEL thought that that was the time for action, looking toward the recall of American forces from the Chinese area and the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

BENJAMIN DAVIS suggested the necessity of their having some kind of a China Committee, which would be of a broad type and based on the idea of friendship with China, its admission to the United Nations and trade with it.

NY 100-4931

On October 28, 1958, according to NY T-16, a meeting of the CP leadership was held that date at the CP National Office and one point of discussion was a date for the holding of the next National Convention of the CP. ROBERT THOMPSON proposed the date of July 4th, 1959, while JACK STACHEL felt that it should be held as late as possible, suggesting Labor Day. THOMPSON said that postponement would give the appearance of weakness while setting a date should serve as a stabilizing factor. EUGENE DENNIS noted that the CP constitution provides for the holding of the convention biennially, with the convention being held in the first six months of the year. He suggested that the matter be deferred until the next meeting of the full National Executive Committee and this meeting was scheduled for November 18, 1958.

In connection with discussion of the holding of a convention, NY T-1 has reported that JAMES JACKSON and EUGENE DENNIS were concerned because ROBERT THOMPSON and BENJAMIN DAVIS apparently at the instigation of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, were insisting upon holding the convention in July, 1959. JACKSON and DENNIS were fearful if the National Committee was to vote on the issue, it would be scheduled for July, such vote being predicated upon the decision of the last convention to meet in two years. DENNIS and JACKSON believed that if a convention was held in July, they would be unable to report progress, which would be what FOSTER, DAVIS and THOMPSON were hoping would happen. DAVIS and THOMPSON were said to have ambition to become Party leader and if either obtained such position, FOSTER would be confirmed as titular head of the CP.

JVW:efb
(5)

NY 100-4931

A meeting of the leadership was held on November 7, 1958, as reported by NY T-16 and this meeting opened with EUGENE DENNIS submitting his observations on the significance of the elections just past. DENNIS saw the result as a sharp rebuff to what he described as an "interventionist policy" of the administration. He also said that the vote disclosed opposition to "certain aspects of the brink of war policy."

JAMES JACKSON claimed that in places like California and Ohio, the CP had played a tremendous role in connection with the issue of the "right to work" law.

NY T-16 has reported that another meeting of the CP leadership was held on November 11, 1958, and this was opened with a discussion of the establishment of a program for the CP. EUGENE DENNIS said that despite difficulties, some important progress has been made. He thought that as quickly as possible there should be a program or an outline of a program. This, he said, would help unify and consolidate the CP and could have an important effect outside the ranks of the Party.

ROBERT THOMPSON referred to the Ohio Sponsoring Committee, For Socialist Conference and noted that there would be forces there, in addition to the Trotskyites, but he felt that the CP could use the Trotskyites for its own objectives. He thought that the conference had importance not in the forces attending, but in the line the CP held there and a much larger circle would be influenced as a number were not committed on a course to be pursued through 1960. THOMPSON

JVW:efb
(6)

NY 100-4931

said the CP must take to that conference a program making sense to any left progressive force. Such a program, he said, must emphasize the need of forming a third party, specifically a farmer-labor-Negro party.

NY T-17, on November 6, 1958, provided a copy of a letter of ROBERT THOMPSON, dated October 31, 1958, addressed to members of the NEC, announcing that a full National Executive Committee meeting was proposed for November 18th, possibly to November 20th. It was said that it was desirable that the NEC discuss the election results and exchange views on the date and character of the 1959 convention. Another question mentioned was that of the consideration of a Party policy on the type of Marxist youth organization they would like to see set up and policy with reference to the Ohio Socialist Conference scheduled for November 28-30, 1958, in Cleveland.

The meeting of the NEC at the National Office of the CP was reported on by NY T-16 as follows:

EUGENE DENNIS opened the meeting by discussing the results of the election and saw the occasion as an expression of dissatisfaction with the administration. He claimed that while the work of the CP was uneven, it did make some important contributions to the election results. He asserted that the CP had played a key role

JVW:efb
(7)

NY 100-4931

in raising issues concerning civil rights and Negro representation, and he thought that the Party organizations in Ohio and California, and to some extent in Indiana, and Washington, had made very significant contributions.

With reference to post-election problems, DENNIS thought that there was no prospect of a large scale break from the two party system. The main line they should pursue was to work toward the unfolding of a broad mass movement on the issues of civil rights, economic and social security and peace.

At the November 19, 1958, session of this NEC meeting, ROBERT THOMPSON opened discussion of a date for the holding of the next CP convention. He said he favored July 4th and said his reasons were that the last convention had directed the holding of the convention within the first six months of the two year period following that convention. Also he thought that postponement would create an atmosphere of instability and that would be exploited by both the right and left in the Party. THOMPSON said that the main argument he had heard for postponement was that a longer period was needed for the achievement of progress. He rebutted this by saying that the Party does have a line and is generally a sound organization.

JACK STACHEL expressed his favor of Labor Day saying that the time would coincide with the 40th Anniversary of the CP and would allow time for an

NY 100-4931

ideolggical campaign. He concluded by saying that delegates to a July convention would have to be elected in May or June, which would be too soon and he would favor democratically violating the period by one or two weeks in order to have more time to select delegates.

BENJAMIN DAVIS saw a convention as an opportunity for consolidating and building the Party, as a weapon. He expressed himself as in favor of holding the convention at the the earliest possible date.

JAMES JACKSON favored a date no later than July 4th, asking who was going to provide the leadership in confronting questions of Party organization and business, citing the critical state of "The Worker" and the status of the Negro membership.

EUGENE DENNIS said that the opinion of the membership regarding the date should be obtained and he proposed a referendum in February or March, 1959. He called for a vote on a recommendation regarding a convention date, but when no decisive vote could be arrived at, he called for a second round of discussion.

Thereafter, the conclusion was reached that the date recommended should be September, 1959.

There was discussion of the agenda for the forthcoming National Committee meeting.

NY 100-4931

ROBERT THOMPSON said that this agenda would have to include an analysis of the election outcome and political perspectives for 1959, as well as presentation of a plan of work for the CP in 1959.

At the opening of the third day's session on November 20, 1958, CARL WINTER read a draft of a statement on ultra-left sectarianism and ultra-right revisionism. Following some discussion, the document was unanimously approved.

ROBERT THOMPSON spoke on CP youth activity, saying that they were pressing for an examination of the questions of how young Marxists should be organized. He said that while the CP has passed through a prolonged period of serious disorientation, the basic cadre has never discarded its concept that the future of the Party rests on its relationship to youth. Without such an approach to the youth he said there is no future for the Party. He declared that they need a youth movement in which organized young Marxists play an important role because that is the prime condition for the constant refreshing of the CP.

In the course of the discussion that followed, EUGENE DENNIS said that the report would give needed stimulus when brought to the attention of the whole Party. He expressed belief that there was an increased desire among the youth to learn more about Socialism and said the CP should give assistance and take the initiative to give leadership on the question of a Marxist youth organization.

NY 100-4931

He also expressed his concern with respect to the legal status of such an organization. He suggested that perhaps by the end of the first quarter of 1959 there could be sufficient preparation to enable a Provisional Committee to emerge.

NY T-13 has noted that at the first session of this NEC meeting there was discussion of the meeting of the Ohio Sponsoring Committee for a Socialist Conference and it was decided that while no official delegates of the CP would attend, ARNOLD JOHNSON and HY LUMER, who had been invited, would do so unofficially. The CP was of the belief that the Trotskyites were attempting to dominate the conference and were looking toward the formation of a new political Party, together with splinter groups and the CP was desirous of preventing such action.

This same informant has reported that at the November 19, 1958, session there was discussion of the date for the holding of the next convention and in seeking postponement, there was fear FOSTER's group might "capture" the Party and the group behind EUGENE DENNIS wanted time to take away the New York State CP from THOMPSON and DAVIS.

NY T-13 has further reported that at the November 20th session of the NEC meeting, the NEC unanimously agreed that the formation of a new youth organization was an immediate necessity. The discussion revolved around the problem of building a Marxist organization controlled by the CP, but ostensibly independent of it. While no solution was arrived at, all agreed that immediate steps should be taken to organize the youth and that it should be operating before May, 1959.

NY 100-4931

This same informant has stated that the question of moving the CP National Office to Chicago is a part of the same problem of which the question of a convention date is an aspect. The majority of the NEC are said to be unable to afford leaving New York, thus subjecting the New York District to the sole influence of those around BEN DAVIS. The majority of the NEC, those around DENNIS, will therefore begin to make an effort to obtain control of the New York State CP organization as preparations are made for the next convention.

NY T-4 has provided a copy of a letter of ROBERT THOMPSON, dated October 31, 1958, and addressed to all National Committee members, informing that the National Committee was to meet on December 6 and 7, 1958, in New York. The finalization on the agenda was to await the decision of the NEC which was to meet, he said, on November 18, and 19, 1958, but, it was probable, according to THOMPSON's letter, that the main points would include the following:

1. An estimate of the 1958 elections and the setting of a political and electoral perspective for 1959.
2. Some problems of organization and a 1959 plan of work geared to the 40th Anniversary of the CP.

NY 100-4931

3. The adoption of a resolution on the Negro question, in connection with which they expected to have a conference on that question. Those participating were to be the Negro members of the National Committee as well as others and a number of white National Committee members.
4. Setting of a date for the next convention.

NY T-2 has provided a copy of the letter dated, November 25, 1958, signed by JAMES E. JACKSON, and ROBERT THOMPSON addressed "Dear Comrade," extending an invitation to participate in a session of the National Committee meeting. It was explained that at that meeting there would be discussion of theoretical and policy questions regarding Negro matters and a draft resolution or policy statement would be presented for discussion.

It was said further in this letter, that a number from the districts were being invited to attend. In a postscript it was stated that district leaders outside of New York were urged to secure attendance of at least one of the leading Negro comrades, in addition to National Committee members.

NY T-3 has reported that on December 6 and 7, 1958, a meeting of the CP National Committee was held at Yugoslav Hall. This meeting opened with a review of the elections by EUGENE DENNIS. DENNIS saying that the results represented a victory for labor, an emergence of progressive forces and a defeat of reactionaries. He concluded that strong possibilities now exist for the development of independent political action by the CP.

NY 100-4831

JAMES JACKSON gave a report on the Negro question and the informant noted that the CP, according to JACKSON, should change its view that the base of the Negro people is in agriculture. There was also advanced the argument that the CP should revise its old position and abandon the slogan of self-determination for the Negro. A lengthy discussion followed JACKSON's report. The report was approved by the Committee.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, with reference to the problem of moving the CP National Office to Chicago, said that her Committee had not done anything since the last National Committee meeting and she referred the matter to SAM KUSHNER, who said that no real obstacle exists to the move to that city. He pointed out that a definite decision to proceed with the move was necessary.

According to NY T-13, the matter was referred to the NEC for final attention.

The next point on the agenda was the matter of a date for the next convention and ROBERT THOMPSON advised the Committee of the views regarding the different dates. When the question was put to a vote, the results were, according to NY T-3, six votes for June, eight votes for September and 21 votes for November, 1959. The NEC was directed to conduct a referendum for approval of November, 1959, and submit the matter to the membership.

JVW:efb
(14)

NY 100-4931

In a report on the Party situation, ROBERT THOMPSON asserted that the emergency in the Party was over and the crisis was past. He said the CP is more than holding its own and it is going forward.

NY T-19 has reported that at this National Committee meeting, ARNOLD JOHNSON related that he had attended the meeting of the Ohio Sponsoring Committee For A Socialist Conference, which was held November 28-30, 1958, in Cleveland. JOHNSON said that the CP contribution to the conference consisted of influencing the thinking of individuals against Trotskyites. He predicted that there will be more struggles with Trotskyites, saying that they are organizing across the country.

"The Worker", December 14, 1958, page fourteen, column one, reported that the CP had decided to hold its 17th National Convention in November, 1959, a decision made by the National Committee at a meeting on the previous weekend. Next it was said that a referendum on the matter would be conducted among Party branches and this would be done during the thirty day period beginning in January, 1959.

The report of the meeting in "The Worker" noted that 41 of 53 National Committee members had attended. However, it is noted that the article mentioned that with reference to JAMES JACKSON's resolution there were 36 votes in favor and six absentions and no votes against, indicating a participation by 42 of the 53 members.

NY 100-4931

NY T-20, on December 23, 1958, supplied a copy of a letter of the National Executive Committee, dated December 22, 1958, addressed: "To All Party Members and Clubs - To All State Committees." This letter notes that the National Committee at its December 6 and 7, 1958, meeting had proposed calling the next National Convention in November, 1959. It was said that in view of the outcome of the Congressional elections, the big political and economic struggles now unfolding and possibilities for expanding the mass work and influence of the Communist Party, the Committee believed it advisable to hold the convention in the latter part of 1959. It was said that this would enable the Party to extend itself at a most favorable time and also enable it to more effectively prepare for its 40th anniversary in September by carrying through, prior to the convention, a six month plan of work for building the Party and the Marxist press.

Attention was drawn to the fact that Article V, Section 1, requires holding the convention in the first half of the year. Nevertheless, the National Committee was requesting authority to postpone it for six months. To that end, and as authorized by Article IV, Section 1 of the Constitution, a national referendum was being conducted between January 5, 1959 and February 6, 1959. All clubs and state committees were urged to vote on a motion approving the recommendation for the calling of the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, during the last quarter of 1959. Each club and committee was directed to record the votes for and against as well as any abstentions. State or district committees are to be responsible for the referendum in the respective states and are to advise the National Committee of the results no later than February 10, 1959.

NY 100-4931

On December 16, 1958, as reported by NY T-16, a meeting was held at the National Office of the CP and on this occasion, JAMES E. JACKSON reported concerning the witnesses who had appeared before a Senate Committee in the course of hearings dealing with individuals applying for passports. JACKSON noted that the main question proposed concerned the source of finances for trips abroad. He noted that WILLIAM L. PATTERSON had raised the issue of discrimination against Negroes.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON told this meeting that questions proposed to the witnesses inferred a connection with Soviet intelligence.

Also at this meeting, a communication from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was read by HY LUMER. FOSTER complained of being "buried" and said that the NEC and National Committee had tended to minimize his views. FOSTER insisted that his address to the National Committee be published in the next issue of "Political Affairs." LUMER observed that he did not know how to go about having a discussion with FOSTER concerning the article because in any discussion FOSTER always did the talking.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS pointed out that there was a question of FOSTER as a person, his limitations, and the relations of the CP with him and also a question of the substance of the work FOSTER has done. He asserted that the CP and FOSTER have a common desire to work out a complete and effective line for the Party in the electoral field. DAVIS said FOSTER has serious limitations but can make serious contributions to the Party. DAVIS urged that the article be printed and criticized LUMER's characterization of FOSTER.

NY 100-4931

EUGENE DENNIS said it is not good to have the Party leadership, especially in the NEC, divided. He felt that while FOSTER's ideas contained much that is positive and stimulating, FOSTER has committed some major tactical errors.

NY T-16 has also reported that a meeting of the CP leadership was held on December 30, 1958, at the CP's National Office, and that WILLIAM L. PATTERSON reported on preparations for the celebration of the anniversary of "The Worker." PATTERSON said that the Dean of Canterbury had agreed to speak at the affair and expenses of the meeting would total \$4,000, \$2,000 of which would go to cover the expenses of the Dean. However, he expected the affair to show a profit of between \$3,000 and \$4,000. PATTERSON thought that the CP should find ways to have professional groups such as doctors and lawyers attend receptions for the Dean and should contact CP officials in other large cities with a view to having the Dean visit such places. PATTERSON thought that the impact of the Dean's appearance would serve as a morale builder and he proposed that the meeting endorse the celebration and rally financial support for the celebration.

The National Executive Committee voted to approve the invitation to the Dean to appear on this occasion.

Activity in Connection With
Preparation of a CP Program

NY T-21 has advised that on October 12, 1958, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER disclosed that he was writing an article on the Party program stating that the program being worked on was nonsense and failed to take a stand on things. FOSTER said that there are

NY 100-4931

three things they must have without which there can not be a Party, one being a Negro resolution, one a trade union resolution, and the third a political action resolution.

NY T-18, on October 24, 1958, advised that HY LUMER, at a meeting of the District Committee of Northern California, San Francisco, on October 18, 1958, had discussed the ideas of the CP Program Committee. He said that the leadership of the Party feel that the preparation of a suitable program may take a year and it is not expected that the program would be in final form by the time of a National Convention in 1959. LUMER suggested that CP clubs select one or two questions on which they may be best informed and devote time and study to those questions.

On November 6, 1958, NY T-17 furnished a copy of ^a circular letter number five, dated October 29, 1958, addressed to all members of the Draft Program Committee and signed by JAMES S. ALLEN as Secretary of the Committee.

This letter reported that a meeting of the Resident Committee had been held on October 14, 1958, and on this occasion, HERBERT APTHEKER gave a preliminary report on aspects of the struggle for democracy in the United States. He analyzed attacks on the ideology of bourgeois democracy from the right; criticism of government with respect to the absence of responsibility in government and political parties; various approaches to structural reform; growing recognition of capitalism as a source of decay and the impact of socialism and the socialist world.

NY 100-4931

This letter further reported that ALEXANDER BITTELMAN had presented the following motion: "The programmatic objective of the Communist Party of the United States in the struggles of the American people for the defense and extension of democracy, is the further development and extension of the democracy of Lincoln and of the New Deal, an anti-monopoly form of democracy, a Welfare State, operating within the confines of the capitalistic mode of production and the bourgeois state system, this being a historic stage of social progress on the American Road to Socialism.

It was noted that various views were expressed in discussion as opposed to the thesis contained in the motion. Action on it was deferred to the next meeting.

NY T-1 has provided on November 14, 1958, a copy of the Program Committee's circular letter number six bearing the same date. The letter noted that a meeting had been held on November 11, 1958, and it was reported that one view expressed was that the Committee should continue toward a basic program, meanwhile, preparing a document for the next National Convention that would set forth the guiding principles of the program.

Another view was that the CP was not ready for a comprehensive basic program, and understood the Convention therefore be presented with a statement of general principles on the relation between the ultimate aim of socialism and an immediate program.

Still another opinion offered was to the effect that while working on a basic program, a "Declaration of Aims and Principles" should be

NY 100-4913

prepared for the Convention and suited to a broad distribution. Fear was expressed that this would appear to be a substitute for a program and that any such declaration should be set out in a new preamble, or as part of the main Convention resolution.

Another meeting of the Program Committee was held on November 25, 1958, according to NY T-16. The first speaker was HY LUMER, who reported on reactions of various state groups to the work to date of the Program Committee as ascertained by him on a recent trip to the West Coast. LUMER said that, in general, reaction to the Committee work was good but there was a great deal of confusion over the character and nature of the program itself.

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN asserted that a "Welfare State" is a step on the road to socialism, and that they must answer basic programmatic problems.

JIM ALLEN responded to this by saying that what was needed was a statement in general terms indicating what they were after and that the idea that a program solves all questions is an overstatement. He said that at every meeting of the Committee, BITTELMAN had raised the question of the Welfare State, and as a result the Committee had accomplished very little. He asserted that BITTELMAN was not proposing the idea for honest discussion but to "serve the enemies outside." BITTELMAN protested such characterization of his statements.

ALLEN went on to say that they needed a serious discussion of theoretical questions but they did not need a revival of factionalism.

NY 100-4913

BITTELMAN stated that the matter had to go before the Party and it would decide, not the Committee, what is right and what is wrong.

ALLEN responded by saying that he did not see a Welfare State and he did not want to prepare a serious report and then find himself discussing a Welfare State. He said that for six months they had been discussing a Welfare State and he wanted to put an end to it.

NY T-16 has also reported that a meeting of the Program Committee took place on December 8, 1958. ALLEN detailed the work on the program to date. He said that there is some conflict within the Committee concerning the concept of the Welfare State as advanced by BITTELMAN. He described these propositions of BITTELMAN as follows:

1. Is the fundamental aim of the program a contribution to the socialist transformation of American imperialism? Do we believe that the next step on the American road to socialism is of a general democratic nature?

2. Is our understanding of peaceful co-existence one of policy and tactical orientation or has it become a programmatic domain which underlies and conditions our struggles for peace, democracy and socialism?

3. Has our Party fulfilled its Vanguard role of promoting the advance of the American working class to socialist ideology by recognizing the labor movement as the leader of the working class and seeking to influence the struggle in the direction of an anti-monopoly democracy - a Welfare State?

NY 100-4913

ALLEN recommended that there be discussion between that time and the opening of pre-convention discussion on major Party questions and further a statement of guiding principles should be prepared.

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN said that two years have passed since the last convention and the CP still has no precise formulation of their basic programmatic problem. He said the only way to get out of the present program crisis is to lay the basis for successful production of the sort of program called for by the 16th National Convention.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

NY T-28, on November 25, 1958, reported that as of November 20, 1958, FOSTER has been confined to his bed because of a stroke that occurred on October 17, 1957. Since that day, FOSTER has suffered two milder attacks during the spring of 1958. FOSTER has disclosed that his right side is paralyzed and he does not have the use of his right hand. He types notes with his left hand and with help turns out a finished article, thus, he takes about a week or two to do what he once could do in a day. FOSTER has said that he desires very much to go to Moscow or Prague, particularly the Carlsbad Springs, feeling that bathing would improve his health and enable him to become active again.

FOSTER claims that the leadership of the CP prevented his obtaining a passport for travel to Europe and also is trying to keep him from seeing people and that the leadership wants to clear anyone before visiting. He feels that he is being kept a virtual prisoner.

NY 100-4913

ROBERT G. THOMPSON

NY T-1 has reported on December 15, 1958, that as of that date, ROBERT THOMPSON expected to return to jail within two weeks to complete a sentence imposed for contempt of court. Because of this possibility, it was anticipated that his Party duties would be divided between two individuals. One of these was said to be GUS HALL, whose status on parole is to last until April, 1959, at which time HALL would assume THOMPSON's duties as Executive Secretary of the CP, USA. THOMPSON was of the belief that the appointment of HALL to this position was assured.

The duties of Organizational Secretary would likely devolve upon an individual identified by the informant as MILTON ROSEN, whose appointment might still be subject to discussion. With reference to ROSEN, THOMPSON remarked that it would be desirable to bring in a young person with new blood and enthusiasm.

Since the receipt of this information by the informant, THOMPSON has secured a new appeal to the United States Supreme Court, and decision of the appeal is not expected for some time.

IRVING POTASH

NY T-2 has reported that at a meeting of the National Executive Committee, held November 18-20, 1958, IRVING POTASH was added to the National Executive Committee and was also appointed Labor Secretary of the CP, USA. However, it was agreed that the appointment would not then be announced.

It is noted that at the time of election of members-at-large to the National Committee by the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA, provision

NY 100-4913

was made that former members of the National Committee, who were in jail at the time or under some legal disability, might be added, when available, provided they were agreeable and no legal restrictions offered.

NY T-13 has advised that the appointment of POTASH to the position of Labor Secretary received newspaper publicity and because of this, it was decided that POTASH would become a member of a subcommittee composed of several trade union people and this committee would operate outside of the CP organization and it was believed that in this way, POTASH could operate without being regarded as a Communist functionary and thus the newspaper publicity would be met.

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

NY T-1 has reported on October 17, 1958, that [REDACTED] had recently been appointed to take charge of cultural activities of the CP, USA, and of the New York State CP as well.

FUNDS

NY 100-4931

(BUFILE 100-3-63)
(NEW YORK 100-74560)

This section was prepared by SAA ALPHONSE J. SUTKUS.

CP, USA National Office
Income and Expenditures

On December 16, 1958, NY T-8 provided information to the effect that CP, USA National Office income during the period January 1, 1958 - November 30, 1958, was derived as follows:

Dues	\$28,977.63
Initiation Fees and Convention Assessments	125.50
Southern Solidarity Assessments	1,311.25
Fund Drive Contributions	11,572.88
Other Contributions	74,653.84
Refunds	5,702.68
Total	<u>\$122,343.78</u>

On the same date, NY T-8 furnished information to the effect that the CP, USA National Office incurred the following expenditures during the period January 1, 1958 - November 30, 1958:

General Wages	\$32,010.00
Payroll Taxes and Insurance	2,736.36
Building Rent and Maintenance	7,041.35
Building Alterations	258.15
Office (Telephone, Postage, Auditing, etc.)	17,199.40
National Committee and National Executive Committee Meetings	10,414.05
Organization (Travel, Auto, Lunches, etc.)	14,501.66
Party Literature (net)	150.50
Contributions to "The Worker"	13,956.00

NY 100-4531

Expenditures (continued)

Educational Travel, Research, etc.	\$ 1,649.32
Southern Affairs	1,391.95
Legislative Contributions and Expenses	1,672.15
Defense	4,983.21
Smith Act Victims' Welfare	8,167.47
General Welfare	3,560.56
Negro Work and Miscellaneous	284.35
Total	<u>\$119,976.48</u>

CP, USA National Office
Assets and Liabilities

According to information received from NY T-8 on December 16, 1958, the CP, USA National Office reportedly owned the following assets as of November 30, 1958:

Cash on Hand	\$1,393.76
Revolving Fund - FRED FINE	100.00
Cash Seized by Internal Revenue Service	5,192.09
Security Deposit on Telephone	250.00
Accounts Receivable	464.00
Loans Receivable	664.57
Furniture and Equipment	1,151.30
Total	<u>\$9,215.72</u>

According to the information furnished by NY T-8 on December 16, 1958, the CP, USA National Office had the following liabilities as of November 30, 1958:

Payroll Taxes and Insurance	\$1,469.47
Due to Southern California CP for Wages of PETTIS PERRY	1,305.36
Due to Illinois CP on Dues Report	173.58
Loans Payable	6,300.00
Total	<u>\$9,248.41</u>

NY 100-49317

CP, USA National Office
Reserve Fund

On January 7, 1959, NY T-1 advised he had received information to the effect that the National Office had withdrawn approximately \$77,746 from its reserve fund during 1958, to meet its operating expenses. NY T-1 also ascertained that the balance in this fund at the start of 1959 amounted to \$30,125.

Southern Solidarity Fund

On December 29, 1958, NY T-15 made available a memorandum dated December 22, 1958, issued by the Organizational Committee of the Illinois CP captioned "Southern Solidarity Fund" for distribution in Illinois which read in part as follows:

"The annual assessment for the Southern Solidarity Fund will come due in February 1959, during Negro History Month.

"The need for the assessment is clear in the light of the heightened struggles against desegregation and for full citizenship of the Negro people with the South as their focal point."

* * *

"In the past year, the Party has made big strides in rebuilding in the South. State organizations are being re-established (note article by Texas State Board in November, P.A.). Extensive mailings throughout the South are organized. Party forces play an influential role in the mass movements of the people in a number of areas. The Southern comrades have played a decisive role in re-examining theoretical aspects of the Negro question.

NY 100-4931

"Looking ahead to the new year, their plans call for further development of mass work, further extension and consolidation of the Party, the issuance of a Marxist quarterly journal, etc.

"All this work depends on funds raised through the Southern Solidarity Fund, which is an assessment equal to one month's dues per member, and the entire amount of which goes into the Solidarity Fund.

"Additional material about the Party's work in the South and the annual assessment will appear in various Party publications.

"Meanwhile, we urge all Party sections and clubs discuss the upcoming assestment alert all members to begin laying aside the assestment to be collected early in February."

NY 100-4931

SECURITY MEASURES

(Bufile 100-3-84)
(NY file 100-81338)

This section was prepared by SA JOHN R. HAWKEN.

On October 15, 1958, NY T-13 advised that EUGENE DENNIS on several occasions has made remarks that people are making too many notes at meetings. He said that the leadership will occasionally glance at the notes being taken to see if a pertinent detail which might be of assistance to the FBI appears in the notes. DENNIS has also indicated that efforts will be made to ferret out "enemy agents", remove them from the Party and that known supporters of the ultra-left or right wing will be removed from Party jobs including jobs in the book stores and printing offices.

On October 17, 1958, NY T-1 advised that a Financial Committee Meeting of the CP, USA, was held in New York City on October 10, 1958. NY T-1 advised that at this meeting BOB THOMPSON stated that if a financial donor to the Party requests it, the donor's security will be maintained and the only individuals outside of those on the financial committee to know his identity will be members of the Main Audit Committee.

On November 25, 1958, NY T-8 advised that BOB THOMPSON, in a letter dated November 24, 1958, requested from JIM WEST a summary of the Mid-West Youth Conference. In this letter, THOMPSON urged WEST to use discretion in the ways various areas of work were dealt with in summary or memo, so as to prevent any misinterpretation or misuse by anyone who might get hold of the document. THOMPSON added it was for this reason that the stenographic notes taken at the conference were destroyed.

NY 100-4931

On October 22, 1958, NY T-29 advised that at a County CP Steel Club meeting held on October 19, 1958, the forthcoming CP Steel Commission meeting scheduled to be held in Cleveland, Ohio on October 25-26, 1958, was discussed. At this meeting, according to NY T-29, it was made known that on arrival in Cleveland, in keeping with announced security measures, the delegates would be picked up at an unspecified street corner before being taken to the meeting location.

NY T-29 further advised that it was agreed to at this meeting that one of the proposals that would be made by their group would be that arrangements be made for mail drops in the various steel areas.

AWM:pam
(1)

NY 100-4931

FACTIONALISM
(Bufile 100-3-88)
(New York file 100-87211)

This section was prepared by SA

b6
b7c

I. CP, USA PRAISED FOR
FIGHT AGAINST FACTIONALISM
BY INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST
JOURNAL

NY T-13, on October 20, 1958, made available the October, 1958 issue of the "World Marxist Review" which, on page 80, contained an article entitled "Consolidating the Ranks of the Communist Party of the United States." This article stated that during the past few years, the CP, USA was forced to conduct a serious struggle against the revisionists and splitters who sought to disrupt and destroy it. The Party was gravely injured by the undermining activities of the Gates revisionist group, but the sound elements in the leadership fought hard to preserve and consolidate the Party and the first gains are now evident.

The article pointed out that the 16th National Convention clearly defined the essential features of the Party and, through its decisions, dealt a severe blow to the revisionists and the left-sectarians. The revisionists, however, did not give up their factional activity and put up an especially hard fight against the Party's endorsing the Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The resolutions passed at the National Committee meeting, which called on all members to defend the Party and fight for its Marxist-Leninist program and which reaffirmed the tried and tested principles of all revolutionary working-class parties, also played an important part in the fight against revisionism.

AWM:pam
(2)

NY 100-4931

The article quoted from the CP, USA endorsement of the 12 Party Declaration and said that the fight of the CP, USA against all forms of opportunism is part of the struggle waged by all Communists against international revisionism. It pointed out that the CP, USA took the correct position in regard to the Yugoslav program and it briefly described the reports of EUGENE DENNIS and BOB THOMPSON at the June, 1958 meeting of the National Committee.

The article concluded that "Facts show that the CP, USA is surmounting the numerous obstacles and exposing the opportunists of all hues. It is making better headway along the road mapped out by the XVth National Convention."

II. CP, USA STATEMENTS ON FACTIONALISM

NY T-1, on November 26, 1958, furnished a statement by the National Executive Committee entitled "Guard the Unity of the Party," which was adopted on November 21, 1958.

In this statement, the National Executive Committee stated that the CP, USA was making increased headway in dealing with vital national and international problems because the Party was pulling out of the protracted internal crisis which had virtually paralyzed it for a long period. It described the activities of the ultra-left group, which culminated in a conference held in August where a new organization in opposition to the Party was formed. The statement also described the activities and ideology of the revisionists, who held a national conference in October. This latter conference, according to the statement, exposed this group as holding a political line in opposition to the Party.

AWM:pam
(3)

NY 100-4931

The statement said that the Party would exert greater efforts in accord with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to expand its mass work and gain new influence and strength. It would continue to wage a resolute two-front struggle against revisionism and dogmatism since both were harmful to the workers, the Negroes and all exploited and oppressed people. It called upon those who have left the Party to fight their way back into it "as experience demonstrates increasingly the fundamental correctness of Marxism-Leninism and their creative application." The statement pledged that the Party recognizes the need for a free and democratic atmosphere in the Party and had taken increased measures to assure such an atmosphere, but at the same time the necessity of faithful execution of decisions reached by the majority were stressed in order that the Party could effectively serve the needs of the working people.

III. LEADERS OF RIGHT-WING
FACTION RESIGN
FROM PARTY

NY T-4, on October 16, 1958, advised that at a meeting of the resident National Executive Committee held on October 8, 1958, the resignations of SID STEIN, MARTHA STONE, GEORGE WATT and ALBERT BLUMBERG were discussed. ROBERT THOMPSON gave a report on this matter in which he indicated that the right-wing faction was to have a conference soon and that it was his belief that this group would jell into a coalition. THOMPSON said that he heard that the group was trying to develop a common outlook on basic concepts, establish a controlling committee or leadership and publish some sort of newspaper.

NY T-18, on October 20, 1958, advised that EUGENE DENNIS, in a letter to another national leader, announced the resignations of the above named CP leaders and stated that they had held a conference in New York the previous weekend. At this conference, however, it was found that their views were sharply divergent and that no organization or publication would be established for the time being. They agreed to reconvene in six months to review the situation then.

AWM:pam
(4)

NY 100-4931

NY T-1, on October 28, 1958, advised that JAMES JACKSON that day said that the CP leaders had discussed FRED FINE's letter of resignation from his executive position which had been submitted by FINE after his participation in the right-win conference. FINE, in his letter, as a condition to his remaining in the Party as a rank and file member, reserved the right to criticize the Party and to talk freely with whomever he chose. JACKSON said it was agreed that FINE be sent a letter informing him that the conditions he proposed were not consistent with his being a CP member.

NY T-13, on November 5, 1958, furnished a document entitled "Statement on Fred Fine's Resignation" issued October 29, 1958, which was signed by LIGHTFOOT and others. The statement indicated FINE had resigned from the Party. It condemned his action as playing into the hands of those who work for the dissolution of the Party.

IV. FACTIONAL GROUPS AT NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE MEETING, NOVEMBER 18 - 20,
1958, AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING,
DECEMBER 6 - 7, 1958

NY T-25, on November 13, 1958, stated that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was quite concerned about a split which might take place at the meeting of the National Executive Committee on November 18 and 19, 1958. LIGHTFOOT felt that the differences that existed between the BEN DAVIS - BOB THOMPSON group and the GENE DENNIS group could be lived with, but if anyone was to lift these differences into principle, then there would be a repeat of the FOSTER-GATES dispute which would reflect itself down through the ranks.

NY T-2, on November 20, 1958, stated that at the session of the National Executive Committee meeting held on November 19, 1958, a group consisting of BEN DAVIS, ROBERT THOMPSON and BURT NELSON urged that the next CP convention be held as soon as possible; however, the DENNIS group proposed that it be held late in 1959 or early in 1960. Arguments for postponement of the convention were that the situation in the Party is not stable enough for a convention, that there has been no real consolidation of leadership as a result of the struggle generated by the right and left forces, and that the Party should be able to point to some record of achievement by convention time.

AWM:pam
(5)

NY 100-4931

The vote on the convention date was 9 to 3 in favor of postponing it to September, 1959. The informant said that underlying the desire for postponement was the fact that the DENNIS group desires to take the New York State CP organization away from THOMPSON and DAVIS. It is feared that an early convention might enable the FOSTER group to capture the Party.

The informant stated that also at this meeting discussion on an article which WILLIAM Z. FOSTER had submitted advocating an election policy of infiltrating the two major parties, resulted in a fight. It was decided not to vote on the article, but to have it re-written and sent back to FOSTER, asking for his approval.

NY T-1, on November 26, 1958, stated that JAMES JACKSON, on that date, said that he believed that the National Executive Committee meeting held on November 18 - 20, 1958, was a good one because the National Executive Committee officially established itself as an authority in the Party. He said that the National Executive Committee meeting opposed the political stand of BENJAMIN DAVIS and ROBERT THOMPSON.

NY T-24, on December 8, 1958, advised that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER wrote a letter, dated December 2, 1958, to the National Committee in which he said that he had received a copy of the National Executive Committee statement, "Guard the Unity of the Party" and that had he been present, he would have voted for it. He pointed out, however, that there was a serious flaw in the statement which should be eliminated. This flaw was the failure to point out the fact that the right danger was the main danger faced by the Party.

NY T-13, on December 9 and 10, 1958, advised that during the second session of the National Committee meeting held on December 7, 1958, the overwhelming majority of those who spoke on the topic of the next National Convention favored holding it in November or December, 1959, and that a motion to that effect was passed. Since this date would violate the constitutional provision regarding the convention, a referendum authorizing the change would be submitted to the membership.

AWM:pam
(6)

NY 100-4931

The informant stated that ROBERT THOMPSON, in his report on the Party at this meeting, criticized the revisionists who were undermining the morale of the Party and telling slanders about the role of the Party. The CP has not done enough to counteract these attacks against it and THOMPSON suggested that more pamphlets dealing with the Party's role be issued. In regard to the inner struggles in the Party, THOMPSON said that no matter what differences existed in the past, Party members had to learn how to relate these inner struggles to comradeship. He said if those who disagree remain in the Party, they are comrades and he urged the Party to cement a comradely relationship, fight factionalism and build the Party.

The informant also stated that the National Committee took up an article entitled "Political Work in the Two Old Parties" by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. This was an edited version of the document which had been presented to the National Executive Committee meeting on November 20, 1958. After discussion, it was decided that the FOSTER document would be submitted to the National Executive Committee for further discussion in order to help in the preparation of a policy for the 1960 elections, but this policy would be in line with the DENNIS report on the elections which had been presented to the National Committee at this meeting.

NY T-1, on December 29, 1958, stated that ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, that day, had said he had talked with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and that he was not happy with FOSTER since FOSTER had not changed his mind or opinions on many important political problems. According to TRACHTENBERG, FOSTER is still in a world of his own and that he is not reconciled fully to the current Party leadership and policies.

AWM:pam
(7)

NY 100-4931

V. CP LEADERS REGARD
CHARLES LOMAN AS HEAD
OF THE "NEW LEFT"

NY T-1, on December 19, 1958, advised that JAMES JACKSON stated that date that the National Office was concerned over the serious development that arose when CHARLES LOMAN left for Moscow without the Party's permission. JACKSON said that he and DENNIS are of the opinion that LOMAN left with FOSTER's blessing and with a letter from FOSTER to the Soviets in his pocket. They also believed that LOMAN had gone to Moscow as a representative of the remaining left-wingers.

NY T-1, on December 31, 1958, stated that ROBERT THOMPSON had said that he believed the suspension of CHARLES LOMAN from the National Committee would be made the next week by the Resident Board. THOMPSON commented that this suspension will be a "local loss" in that some Party members in Brooklyn may leave with him.

THOMPSON further stated that it is his opinion that LOMAN believes that he represents a "new left" within the CP and that LOMAN also believes when he travels to the USSR, he will "get the ear" of the Russian comrades. THOMPSON, himself, believed that LOMAN would be unsuccessful in this effort. THOMPSON further said that CHARLES LOMAN believes that he can have extreme left views and remain in the CP and, in time, insert these views within the Party platform.

A.M:pam
(1)

1

NY 100-4931

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(Bufile 100-3-81)
(New York file 100-86624)

This section was prepared by SA

b6
b7c

I. CP, USA COMMENDED
BY INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST JOURNAL

NY T-13, on October 20, 1958, furnished a copy of the October, 1958 issue of "World Marxist Review" which, on page 80, contained an article entitled "Consolidating the Ranks of the Communist Party of the United States." This article set forth in detail the efforts of the CP, USA in its "serious struggle against revisionists and splitters who sought to disrupt and destroy it." The article concluded by stating that the CP, USA was surmounting the numerous obstacles and exposing the opportunists of all hues and that it was making better headway along the road mapped out by the 16th National Convention.

(The substance of this article is more fully set forth in the section on Factionalism.)

II. CP, USA TO SEND
DELEGATE TO 21ST
CONGRESS OF CPSU,
MOSCOW

NY T-8, on November 25, 1958, advised that the CP, USA received a cablegram from the Central Committee of the CPSU on November 3, 1958, advising that the 21st Congress of the CPSU would be held in Moscow on the 27th of January, 1959, and that representatives of the CP, USA were invited to attend this Congress. According to the cable, the Congress would review the "control figures and development of the national economy of the USSR for 1959-1965, etc."

AWM:pam
(2)

NY 100-4931

NY T-2, on December 30, 1958, advised that a conference for all CPs in the Western Hemisphere which was originally scheduled to be held in South America during December, 1958, had been cancelled and was now to be held in Moscow during the period of the 21st Congress of the CPSU. Delegates from all CPs of South and Central America, who were to attend the 21st Congress, as well as delegates from Cuba, the United States and Canada, would participate in the conference for the Western Hemisphere CPs.

The informant also said that a conference of CP delegates from all Anglo-American countries, that is, all the English speaking nation representatives, would be held during the period of the 21st Congress of the CPSU. In addition to the above conferences, a number of additional conferences in specified fields, such as peace, national groups question and so forth, would be held.

NY T-2, on January 12, 1959, advised that the CP, USA was to announce in the near future that it was sending one delegate as its representative to the 21st Congress of the CPSU.

III. VISITS TO SOVIET UNION BY CP, USA LEADERS

NY T-13, on October 9, 1958, advised that EUGENE DENNIS, during the preceding week, had commented that with so many CP members obtaining passports for travel in Europe, it might be necessary to require that leading comrades ask for and obtain permission from their district committee before making such trips. He also suggested that instructions be issued that no one is to represent himself as travelling for the CP, USA unless a specific mandate to that effect is received from the CP, USA.

AWM:pam
(3)

NY 100-4931

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

NY T-2, on November 24, 1958, reported that ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, who was making preparations for a trip to Europe and the Soviet Union, on November 21, 1958, said that he was preparing a list of characterizations of various people, including leaders of the CP, USA, who were not 100 per cent loyal to the Party. TRACHTENBERG planned to take this list to the Russians for their guidance in case any of these people made a trip to Russia.

NY T-2, on December 9, 1958, advised that TRACHTENBERG had received his passport and that he planned to leave the United States by boat for England sometime during December, 1958. He was then to go to Russia where he planned to take a vacation and visit his relatives before discussing CP, USA affairs with the CPSU. On his return, he planned to visit various countries in Europe on Party business.

PAUL NOVICK

NY T-2, on November 24, 1958, advised that PAUL NOVICK, who was about to start out on a trip to Europe and the Soviet Union, was carrying credentials from the CP, USA, which identified him as Editor-in-Chief of the "Freiheit" and as being sent on this trip by his paper as a correspondent. The credentials also stated that NOVICK has been a member of the Party since 1921, and is a member of the commission for work among the Jewish people.

NY T-2 also stated that the CP, USA planned to send to the Russians, by means other than NOVICK, a note characterizing NOVICK as being weak in regard to the Jewish question. This latter note was to be for the Russians' information in dealing with NOVICK because NOVICK, in the past, has been critical of the Soviet and CP, USA position in regard to the Jewish question.

AWM:pam
(4)

NY 100-4931

CHARLES LOMAN

NY T-21, on November 30, 1958, advised that CHARLES LOMAN told WILLIAM Z. FOSTER that date that he planned to go to the Soviet Union, but that he did not know whether the CP, USA would agree to his going to the 21st Congress of the CPSU as a representative from the CP, USA, because of the fact that some of the leaders do not like his views. FOSTER told LOMAN that he should go anyway and raise the real issues before the CP, USA at the 21st Congress. FOSTER said that it was LOMAN's duty to go and he should tell the CPSU plainly about the CP, USA.

NY T-1, on December 19, 1958, reported that JAMES E. JACKSON had stated that CHARLES LOMAN left for Moscow without the Party's permission and that a serious problem had arisen at the National Office over his going. JACKSON stated that he and EUGENE DENNIS were of the opinion that LOMAN left with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's blessing and with a letter from FOSTER to the Soviets in his pocket. They also believed that LOMAN had gone to Moscow as representative of the remaining left-wingers in the Party.

JACKSON said that DENNIS would notify the Soviets that LOMAN is not an official representative of the CP, USA; however, the CP, USA is worried about this situation because LOMAN is a resourceful individual who can "break down doors."

NY T-1, on December 31, 1958, advised that ROBERT THOMPSON said that CHARLES LOMAN, as of that time, had not been suspended by the National Committee of the CP, USA because of the circumstances of his trip to the Soviet Union; however, THOMPSON said that he expected the suspension would be made known by the Resident Board even though FOSTER is opposed to such action. THOMPSON stated that in his opinion LOMAN believes that he represents a "new left" within the CP and that when he gets to the USSR, he will "get the ear" of the Russian comrades. THOMPSON said though that he did not think LOMAN would be successful in the Soviet Union.

AWM:pam
(5)

NY 100-4931

GEORGE MORRIS

NY T-13, on October 20, 1958, advised that he learned during the week of October 12, 1958, that GEORGE MORRIS planned to leave the United States for Russia to attend a trade union conference as a delegate from "The Worker"; however, his trip would have to be delayed because the conference had been postponed.

The informant, on November 24, 1958, advised that during the week of November 16, 1958, MORRIS said that he planned to leave for Russia during the early part of December, 1958. MORRIS stated that when he went to the Soviet Embassy to obtain a visa, they rolled out the red carpet for him and made his visit the occasion for a party. The Russians told him that they were prepared to pay his fare to and from Russia, but he told them that he would depend on them only for his return transportation.

NY T-13, reported on December 9, 1958, that MORRIS was to leave for England the following day and spend four or five days in London with JOHN WILLIAMSON before proceeding to Russia.

IV. PLANS OF ITALIAN GROUP
IN CP, USA TO ESTABLISH
NEWSPAPER IN CANADA

NY T-22, on November 3, 1958, reported that at a meeting of the Italian comrades in the CP, USA who composed the administrative staff of "L'Unita," held on October 24, 1958, ALEX GARDNER gave a report on his recent trip to Italy. GARDNER said that he gave the \$100.00 sent by the "L'Unita" group in the United States to the "L'Unita" in Rome and that the comrades there were very happy to receive the money. They printed a picture of the \$100 bill on page one of their newspaper. GARDNER said that he conferred with MICHEL SALERNO, Editor-in-Chief of the pro-Communist newspaper "Paese - Sera" and many other comrades in the Italian Party. He brought personal regards from all of them to the comrades present at that meeting.

AWM:pam
(6)

NY 100-4931

NY T-22, on December 3, 1958, stated that at a meeting of the Press Committee of "L'Unita," which was held on November 21 1958, ALEX GARDNER reported further on his trip to Italy. In his discussions with SALERNO and other representatives of the Italian CP, he learned that Italian comrades in Canada want to start publication of a popular democratic weekly newspaper there. They have accumulated funds for this paper and wish to discuss the matter with the Italian-American comrades.

GARDNER said that the Italian Party thinks the "L'Unita" group should meet with the Canadian comrades and once the arrangements are made for the Canadian publication, suspend the publication of "L'Unita" in New York. The Italian Party was willing to send an Italian comrade to Canada for technical assistance in publishing the paper and the Italian Party further suggested that the current Editor of "L'Unita" go to Canada to edit the new paper. GARDNER said that the Italian comrades were to communicate further with them on the matter of arranging a meeting with the Canadian group.

GARDNER, according to the informant, also reported that the Italian Party desired that the American group assist it financially. According to the informant, those present at the meeting agreed that this would be discussed more fully in the future.

V. CONTACTS OF CP, USA
LEADERS WITH SOVIET
DIPLOMATS

NY T-23 advised on November 6, 1958, that WILLIAM WEINSTONE stated that he was trying to obtain tickets to the reception which was to be given on the evening of November 7, 1958, by the Soviet Delegation to the United Nations in honor of the 41st anniversary of the Soviet Revolution.

AWM:pam
(7)

NY 100-4931

A Special Agent of the FBI observed WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, CHARLES DIRBA, JAMES ALLEN, JAMES E. JACKSON, ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG and ART SHIELDS enter or leave the Soviet Delegation to the United Nations, 680 Park Avenue, New York City, on the evening of November 7, 1958.

VI. CP, USA CONTACTS
WITH FOREIGN CPs

NY T-2, on October 20, 1958, advised that the CP, USA requested that the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada (the CP of Canada) send one or two delegates to a meeting of the National Auto Fraction to be held in Detroit during the weekend of October 18 and 19, 1958.

NY T-8, on October 28, 1958, advised that BILL KASHTON of the National Organization Department of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada wrote to ROBERT THOMPSON on October 21, 1958 to advise him that the National Organization Department of his Party had decided to make a study of various problems of organization as it affected the Party and that he believed it would be helpful to study the experiences of other parties in the capitalist world. He therefore requested that any bulletins, pamphlets or other materials published by the CP, USA on that subject be sent to the Labor-Progressive Party.

NY T-24, on December 29, 1958, reported that WILLIAM WAINWRIGHT, Assistant Secretary of the CP of Great Britain, wrote to the CP, USA on November 4, 1958, to advise that the British Party was organizing celebration meetings to honor the bi-centenary of ROBERT BURNS, Scotland's national poet. He requested that a message concerning BURNS be sent by the CP, USA, which would be included in a program that the British CP was preparing for this event.

NY T-8, on December 16, 1958, advised that the CP of the Netherlands wrote to the CP, USA on November 14, 1958, to advise that the 19th Congress of the Netherlands CP was to be held December 26 to 29, 1958. The CP, USA was requested to send greetings to this Congress.

AWM:pam
(8)

NY 100-4931

NY T-2, on November 21, 1958, reported that EUGENE DENNIS, at a National Executive Committee meeting held on November 20, 1958, stated that greetings to congresses of CPs of Chile and Colombia would be sent by the CP, USA. The informant advised on November 24, 1958, that according to DENNIS on November 21, 1958, the above mentioned greetings had been sent to the two South American parties.

NY T-21, on December 9, 1958, advised that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was contemplating writing a letter to MAO TSE-TUNG, Chairman of the Chinese CP, extending his heartiest congratulations to the Chinese people and the Chinese Party for the glorious success of their tremendous revolution.

NY 100-4931

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

(Bufile 100-3-72)
(New York 100-79717)

This section was prepared by SA FRANCIS J. COSTIGAN:

On December 1, 1958, NY T-24 furnished a mimeographed letter, dated November 24, 1958, addressed: "To All Members of the National Committee" and signed "Comradely yours, E. DENNIS".

The letter contains the following as a first paragraph, "The following is a summary of the report made to the N. E. C. on Nov. 18th on the results of the Nov. 4th elections."

The letter states that the majority of the voters registered their dissatisfaction with the Administration's domestic program and its foreign policy by administering a sharp political setback to the Republican Party.

The letter declares that most of the pro-labor and pro-civil rights candidates were elected and that the majority of the reactionary candidates were defeated.

The letter sets forth that the issues which were dominant were the following: unemployment, farm price supports and controls, inflation, the high cost of living and the right-to-work legislation.

NY 100-4931

The report states that labor has acquired greater influence in the new Congress and in the state legislatures and predicts that the movement for independent political action can be greatly advanced and that labor can exercise a far more influential role in the elections of 1960.

The report points out that a fresh approach to the organization of the independent voters and the formation of a farmer-labor-Negro people's party is vitally needed by the Communist Party.

The letter concludes as follows: "Our Communist Party has an ever more important contribution to make. It has a special role to play in exercising its vanguard role, in extending its united front relations, in helping clarify perspectives and political and ideological questions, in raising and pinpointing the main issues, in unmasking and isolating the Trotskyites, etc. and in developing further its political and organizing initiatives in the mainstream and among the independent progressives and radicals."

On December 10, 1958, NY T-2 made available a mimeographed document entitled: "Political Work in the Two Old Parties", by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. This document is addressed: "To the National Committee".

The document declares that the political work of the Communist Party should be carried out in three spheres:

- 1) the two major parties
- 2) the Labor-Negro-Farmer Party
- 3) the Communist Party.

NY 100-4931

The document states that the bulk of the working class supported the Democratic Party; that scarcely 100,000 voters in the United States stated a preference for the five independent left-wing parties and that the Democratic and Republican Parties control the government.

The document continues that the work of the Communists within the two old parties should be based on the following principles:

a) the propagation of the Communist Party program and line within the old parties with the ultimate aim of forming a Labor Party at the appropriate time and place.

b) the winning control of many key sections of the old parties with the purpose of building up strong organizations in certain key states.

c) the focusing of the attention of the workers on the eventual formation of a Labor Party without causing splits in the ranks of the parties as they now stand.

d) the building of strong worker organizations within the two old parties without playing into the hands of the reactionaries of those parties.

e) the efforts to build such worker organizations should be characterized by persistence and firmness.

f) Communists must work within the old political parties while remaining Communists.

g) the mistakes of the past should not be repeated, particularly the failure to theorize the course taken in the old parties.

NY 100-4931

h) the cooperation of the Communist Party with the middle or progressive group of workers.

i) the Communist Party should not seek any affiliation or merger with organizations or movements within the scope of the two old parties.

The document continues that the Communist Party should base its program on the proposition that the American working class will eventually free itself from the bourgeois control of the two-party system.

The formation of a Negro-Labor-Farmer Party in the United States will mark a long stride forward for the American working class and its allies. This Party in the United States will, probably, not have a Socialist program, but the Communist Party should actively propagate Socialism in all their Labor Party work.

The document reads, in part, as follows:

"The Communist Party must be actively built in every phase of the Labor Party movement -- to create the organization of the workers in the major parties, to build the Labor Party, and to fulfill the thousand and one tasks that the Party confronts in the class struggle. We must remember that the independent role of the working class is the ultimate status we are driving at, and that hence the importance of the independent parties must not be underestimated."

JVW:mzm
(1)

NY 100-80636

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

Bufile 100-3-70
New York 100-80636

This section was prepared by SA JAMES M. KIRBY.

On November 24, 1958, NY T-4 furnished a copy of a memorandum prepared by JAMES E. JACKSON. The memorandum is entitled, "Immediate Tasks in Preparation for the Opening of the 86th Congress."

The memorandum is an analysis of the last Congressional and state elections. JACKSON said that by the elections, Congress has been given a mandate by the people to end the "brink of war" foreign policy; to enact civil rights legislation; to enact economic legislation to relieve unemployment and declining farm income, and to enact legislation to end the bankruptcy of small businesses.

In explaining the purpose of the memorandum, JACKSON said it was to apprise the entire CP (Communist Party) Organization of immediate questions relative to the organization of the new 86th Congress. In that regard JACKSON said there was a need to amend Rule 22, which permits filibusters in the Senate, and a need to remove the Chairmanships of key committees from the hands of the Dixiecrats and place them in the hands of liberal Democrats, regardless of seniority.

JACKSON said Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, and Oklahoma, should be special points of concentration by the labor-led coalitions in regard to the demand to abolish the filibuster rule. He said organized labor has a special stake in the battle to end the filibuster. In suggesting methods to accomplish this objective, JACKSON said organized delegations should visit various senators and representatives of the liberal bloc. He said these delegations should be comprised of local union representatives, Negro organizations, and church groups.

V JIVW:mzm
(2)

NY 100-80636

In concluding, JACKSON said that campaigning to bring about the amendment of the present rule which permits the filibuster and the change in the method of selecting key committee chairmen was to be the Party's mass work until the opening of Congress in 1959.

NY 100-4931

DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES
(Bufile 100-3-83)
(NY File 100-89691)

This section was prepared by SA MARVIN R. DORAN.

Campaign to Free Gil Green and Henry Winston

On October 21, 1958, NY T-4 furnished copies of a mimeographed letter addressed "To All Districts" which was distributed by the National Office of the Communist Party (CP), USA. This letter concerned the appeal for amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON.

The letter, dated October 17, 1958, addressed "To All Districts", requested information from each district regarding what is being done in regard to the campaign for amnesty on behalf of GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON. The letter emphasized that the parole issue is now before the United States Board of Parole, and within a short time the Christmas amnesty campaign will be on the agenda in every CP district.

Attached to this letter was a complete text of a letter sent to President EISENHOWER, dated September 23, 1958, calling for executive clemency in behalf of GREEN and WINSTON. The letter of the National Office called for wide distribution of the text of the letter to President EISENHOWER in order to stimulate national interest in the GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON amnesty campaign.

NY 100-4931

The December 14, 1958, issue of "The Worker" page 14, columns 1 and 2, carried an article captioned "CP Program Mapped On Next Congress".

The above article set forth the agenda and decisions reached at the National Committee meeting of the CP, USA which was held in New York City on December 6, 7, 1958. The article reflected that the following resolutions regarding GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON were adopted at this meeting:

1. The sending of greetings to imprisoned Smith Act prisoners, GILBERT GREEN and HENRY WINSTON.
2. Condemning the refusal of the Parole Board to free them, and pledging renewed efforts for executive amnesty.

NY T-5 reported on November 6, 1958, that ARNOLD JOHNSON had commented on that date that a parole hearing for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON was scheduled on November 13, 1958, before the United States Board of Parole in Washington, D.C. JOHNSON stated that he was organizing a delegation from the New York City area to attend this hearing in an attempt to influence the Parole Board.

NY T-11 furnished a copy of a typewritten letter, dated October 24, 1958, addressed "To All Districts" bearing the typewritten signature of ARNOLD JOHNSON. The letter refers to the parole applications to be considered at a United States Board of Parole hearing scheduled on November 13, 1958, concerning GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON.

The above letter noted that a delegation was being organized in connection with the appeal and in lieu of actual participation, it suggested that communications urging parole for GREEN and WINSTON should be directed to the United States Board of Parole.

NY 100-4931

[redacted] United States Board of Parole, advised on November 26, 1958, that the parole hearing for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON was held on November 13, 1958, in Washington, D.C. He advised that a decision was made on November 24, 1958, denying parole to both GREEN and WINSTON.

b6
b7c

NY T-6 advised on November 19, 1958, that a meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on November 14, 1958. The informant advised that one of the items discussed at this meeting concerned the amnesty campaign for GIL GREEN and HENRY WNNSTON. NY T-6 advised that postal cards bearing the address of the United States Board of Parole were sold at this meeting and the purchasers were requested to write a short statement urging amnesty for GREEN and WINSTON.

NY T-7 reported on November 23, 1958, that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was in contact with a prominent CP functionary on that date at which time they discussed the amnesty campaign for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON. FLYNN commented that SI GERSON was taking over the amnesty campaign in an "unofficial way". FLYNN was critical of the manner in which GERSON is handling the amnesty campaign, stating that he is spending too much time writing to ex-Party people all over the country. FLYNN stated that she believed the campaign would be more successful if he concerned himself with active CP members.

The informant reported that FLYNN concluded by stating that she was very disgusted with the efforts made to gain amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON and that she would hate to lose these two comrades as a result.

MRD:mfm
(4)

NY 100-4931

On November 25, 1958, NY T-8 furnished a copy of a mimeographed circular letter dated November 24, 1958, addressed "To All Districts' And National Committee Members". This letter urged that efforts be made to win amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON by writing to President EISENHOWER.

Enclosed with the letter, dated November 24, 1958, was a copy of a letter, dated September 23, 1958, addressed to President EISENHOWER concerning a plea for executive clemency for GREEN and WINSTON. The cover letter, dated November 24, 1958, was signed by ARNOLD JOHNSON.

NY T-9 reported on December 4, 1958, that an open section meeting of the Northeast Bronx CP was held at 683 Allerton Avenue, Bronx, New York, on November 25, 1958, at which time, it was announced that a concert in support of Christmas amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON would be held on December 21, 1958, at the New Terrace Garden, 2145 Boston Post Road, Bronx, New York. The informant reported that CP members were urged to support this function.

NY T-10 advised on December 2, 1958, that a letter, dated November 29, 1958, and signed "JOSEPH POLICHETTI, Chairman, Bronx Committee for Civil Liberties", was directed to President EISENHOWER urging executive clemency for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON.

This letter set forth background information concerning the GREEN and WINSTON cases. This letter read in part:

"...their continued imprisonment is inconsistent with decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the United States Court of Appeals in Michigan and New York, the New York Appellate Division and others in Smith Act cases before them. The courts are unanimous that no crime has been committed..."

NY 100-4931

NY T-7 advised in December, 1958, that a group composed of leading CP functionaries met in New York City on December 29, 1958, and discussed the amnesty campaign for HENRY WINSTON.

NY T-7 reported that SI GERSON delivered a report outlining future plans of the CP to gain freedom for WINSTON. The informant advised that the following points were set out in GERSON's report:

1. Analyze the current situation.
2. Establish an amnesty committee which would establish a program and a minimum goal set up for a three month period.
3. Blanket the country with $\frac{1}{4}$ page newspaper advertisements in papers like the "New York Times", and the "Newark Star Ledger" utilizing something official with EDNA WINSTON's signature and Post Office box number.
4. Work on Congressmen who might be approached at the right time to introduce amnesty resolutions.
5. Distribute the NIEBUHR - THOMAS letter as well as cut-outs of advertisements door-to-door while securing signatures at the same time including those of important people like Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.
6. Utilize ADAM CLAYTON POWELL and other Harlem clergymen.

NY 100-4931

7. Exert pressure on President EISENHOWER and the United States Board of Parole which would be a "double barrel action" since all letters to the President are referred to the United States Department of Justice.
8. Have amnesty letters sent to all Negro newspapers in the United States asking people to cut out same, sign and mail to President EISENHOWER.

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Issues

NY T-6 reported on November 19, 1958, that a Bronx Civil Liberties Committee meeting was held at 2733 Barker Avenue, Bronx, New York, on November 17, 1958.

The informant reported that one of the items discussed at this meeting concerned a letter sent by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which stated that they are planning on establishing an office in Washington, D.C. in order to carry out their goal of the banning of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The informant stated that a nine months budget of \$90,000.00 is needed, and that the Bronx Civil Liberties Committee would be asked to contribute \$100.00 monthly. NY T-6 advised that a motion was made and passed proposing a donation of \$50.00 per month from the Bronx Civil Liberties Committee.

NY 100-4931

The December 14, 1958 issue of "The Worker" , page 2, column 2, contained an editorial captioned "Travel Ban". This editorial concerns a recent ruling by the United States Supreme Court governing travel abroad. The editorial reads in part:

"The Dixiecrats and Mc Carthyites are determined to restore to Secretary JOHN FOSTER DULLES the right to forbid some Americans to travel abroad."

"The last minute move to prevent our labor editor, GEORGE MORRIS, from leaving the country after receiving a passport, is part of a conspiracy by Senator EASTLAND, the House Un-American's and the Mc Carthyites in the State Department."

The editorial urged its readers to protest this attempt "to scuttle the Supreme Court's passport ruling, so that Americans can learn the truth about the rest of the world".

JVW:mzm
(1)

NY 100-4931

STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY

Bufile 100-3-89
New York 100-89590

This section was prepared by SA JAMES M. KIRBY.

On October 7, 1958, NY T-35 advised that Mid West Regional Conference of the CP, USA (Communist Party, United States of America) composed of approximately 22 persons, was held in Chicago, Illinois, on October 4, 5, 1958. The informant advised that the agenda consisted of reports on the auto and steel questions.

CARL WINTER presented the report on the auto situation, and he charged WALTER REUTHER with violating the mandate of the United Automobile Workers's Convention in his contract negotiations with the car manufacturers.

WINTER offered suggestions for building a "left" in the trade unions, and for forming a coalition between the CP and the unions. He advocated establishing a national publication devoted to matters of labor union interest, and serving as a medium for the exchange of ideas in the labor union field.

The report on steel was presented by ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, who attributed the layoffs and short work weeks in the steel industry to the economic situation and automation. He advocated a long-range CP program aimed at building a coalition with the steel unions.

The informant further advised that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT informed the group that the CP National Committee favors the establishment of a permanent Mid West Regional group to deal with the problems in the auto, steel, and packing industries.

JVW:mzm
(2)

NY 100-4931

LIGHTFOOT proposed a steering committee be established composed of district organizers and National Committee members. He urged that the steering committee organize and apportion the work of the Midwest Regional group among all cadre. The informant said the conference accepted the proposals of LIGHTFOOT.

On October 20, 1958, NY T-36 advised that a meeting of the National Auto Commission, CP, USA, was held on October 18, 1958, in Detroit, Michigan.

The informant said the agenda consisted of a report on United Automobile Workers' contracts by CARL WINTER and an organizational discussion.

WINTER's report condemned the manner in which contract negotiations had been conducted by WALTER REUTHER with the auto makers.

In the discussion that followed WINTER's report, all those present agreed that REUTHER's actions were subversive, and the reason for the United Automobile Workers' failure to get better contracts lay in the growth of bureaucracy in the unions. There was also agreement that an incorrect estimate of economic conditions and the militancy of the workers was the basis for the left movement in the United Automobile Workers' (UAW). It was agreed the CP should seek ways to unite the militant elements in the unions.

The informant said there was a discussion as to the feasibility of a labor paper. CARL WINTER suggested the paper be more progressive than the ordinary labor paper, but not as far left as "The Worker." However, no decision was reached as to what position the paper should take.

JVW:mzm
(3)

NY 100-4931

The informant said it was decided that the next meeting of the National Auto Commission will be held after the Skilled Trades meeting during late January or early February, 1959. The points for discussion will be the coming elections in the UAW and the New Congress.

In conclusion, the informant advised that no formal resolutions were passed, nor was there any definite course of action planned in the auto field.

NY T-37 advised on October 27, 1958, that a meeting of the National Steel Commission, CP, USA, was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on October 25-26, 1958. The meeting was attended by representatives from Cleveland, Buffalo, Indiana, Illinois, and Maryland.

The informant said the agenda consisted of the following:

A report on the seven workers who were discharged from jobs in Buffalo for refusing to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a report on the United Steel Workers Convention held in Atlantic City in September, 1958, a political analysis of DAVID J. MC DONALD, President of USWA, and a discussion of the gains to be sought in negotiating for the 1959 United Steel Workers' contract.

The informant said the following decisions were reached:

To establish citizens' committees to support a reinstatement suit by the discharged Buffalo employees; to publish a national Steel Commission paper, to strengthen "the left" within the United Steel Workers of America (USWA); to submit a report of the Steel Commission meeting to the CP National Executive Committee; proposals for a CP program in the steel industry to be submitted by each CP District to the National Committee; the National Steel Commission to meet four times a year; the National Committee to prepare a statement regarding the Party's program and interest in the 1959 USWA contract negotiations.

JVW:mzm
(4)

NY 100-4931

On November 24, 1958, NY T-13 advised that he had learned that IRVING POTASH was appointed to the post of Labor Secretary, CP, USA during a meeting of the National Executive Committee, which was held in NYC on November 18-20, 1958.

NY 100-4931

NEGRO QUESTION
Bufile 100-3-75
New York file 100-80640

This section was prepared by SA

b6
b7c

Program of CP, USA in Negro and Southern Work
for coming year.

NY T-1 reported on October 25, 1958, he had ascertained that JAMES E. JACKSON, at a meeting of the Resident National Executive Committee (NEC), CP, USA, on October 22, 1958, in New York, had presented for that committee's approval a seven point program for Negro and Southern work in the coming year. This program consisted of:

1. To convince the Negro people that Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING is not the individual whom they should regard as their leader. The aim of the CP in Negro activities will be to prove that KING is not possessed of sufficient wisdom to be the leader of the Negro people. The Party will stress the fact that in his book, KING admits he is influenced by white capital.
2. To call a National Conference of Negro elected officials. This conference would be called for about February, 1959. The topic of discussion at the conference would be "Restoration of Section III of the Ives-Douglas Bill", which deals with civil rights and which has been stricken from the subject bill.
3. To establish a Negro Marxist journal to be issued quarterly. This journal would be directed to the Negro youth and would be first published in February, 1959.

NY 100-4931

4. To establish a new Southern Negro Youth Conference.

5. To become active in the 1960 elections pertaining to Negro districts. The CP feels that if a sufficiently energetic campaign were instituted in those districts with large Negro populations either Negroes can be elected to public office or those elected could be compelled to give patronage to Negroes.

6. To take part in the 50th anniversary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which is scheduled to be celebrated in June, 1959.

7. To work for the appointment of more Negro trade union functionaries to more important positions in the unions.

NY T-1 stated this program was unanimously adopted by the Resident NEC.

"The Class Forces in the Negro People's Movement"

NY T-2 on December 10, 1958, furnished a copy of a mimeographed document entitled "The Class Forces in the Negro People's Movement", by JAMES E. JACKSON.

In part, this document reflects:

"The high proportion of the Negro people who are working people means that the Negro Freedom Movement will increasingly reflect in its programs, policies, leadership, alliances, immediate and long-range goals the influence and will of the working class. This is a feature in the prospects

NY 100-4931

for development of the Negro Liberation Movement which is quite different from that usually associated with national movements of colonial economies wherein the weight of the petty bourgeois peasant class groupings are very heavy if not decisive. The proportionate numerical strength of the class forces within the Negro movement is decisively on the side of the workers. This circumstance favors the ultimate dominance of the policies of the working class and the leadership of the working class in the Negro people's movement which is indispensable for the triumph of the cause of Negro liberation over all manner of oppression."

Continuing, JACKSON writes:

"Under the leadership of the Negro workers, the Negro People's Movement can enroll the larger part of the Negro capitalist strata into some measure of support to or participation in the fight of the Negro people for equality and against all facets of discrimination, and ally it on the side of the social class forces of progress and peace. At the same time, within the coalition of the Negro People's Movement, it is necessary for the workers to oppose and fight against the conservative, compromising and reactionary capitalist narrowmindedness of the Negro capitalist influence within and upon that movement."

This document further reflects:

"There is no greater task for the Communists and advanced workers to fulfill in connection with the working class than that of furthering the bonds of class unity and brotherhood between Negro and white workers. At all times Communists must stand in the forefront of the struggle to

NY 100-4931

smash every remaining color bar and anti-Negro prejudice, practice, or manifestation of social prejudice in the trade union and other working-class organizations. Communists must always stand forth as tireless fighters for the integration of Negro workers on the basis of full equality in the life and affairs of the trade unions. Communists must ceaselessly work to influence the trade unions to struggle for full equality in job rights in all branches of industry for the Negro workers -- in terms of employment, equal pay for equal work, job classification, upgrading, training and promotion; to put an end to all racial exclusiveness in the employment and job classification practices in the industries and enterprises. Communists must be outstanding in influencing and sharing in the completion of the urgent work of the labor movement to organize the millions of unorganized Negro and white workers -- particularly in the South -- into the trade unions.

"Communists must be tireless in organizing and stimulating the labor movement to champion the freedom demands of the Negro people, and to render every material and moral support to the concrete struggles of the Negro people for political, economic and social equality and freedom from national oppression, segregation, disfranchisement, and discrimination."

"Program in Regard to 'Black Belt'"

NY T-2 on December 10, 1958, also furnished a mimeographed document entitled "Program in Regard to 'Black Belt'", by JAMES E. JACKSON.

This document, in part, reflects:

"The Communist Party champions the democratic rights of the Negro people to equality in every sphere of American life. It also supports the right of the Black

NY 100-4931

Belt community to develop fully and freely in the South.

"Towards this end, the CP works for, and strives to influence the Negro people's movement, the labor movement and all the democratic forces of the population to wage a sustained and concerted struggle for the following immediate measures now -- the realization of which would create those democratic conditions in the South, in general, and in respect to the Black Belt area of Negro majority in particular, for the Negro people there to freely manifest their right to determine the course of their own development."

The document goes on to advocate, among other things, the abolition of the poll tax, FEPC, land reform, low cost housing, school construction, cultural and recreational facilities on a non-segregated basis, the end of segregation in public institutions, and the abolition of "Jim Crow" laws.

The document further reflects, in part:

"The task of the Communists is to influence the course of development of these organizational movements and campaigns which stem from the activities of the progressive influence within the established organizations of the masses. It is not the task of the Communists, at this stage, to undertake under its own banner the building of such movements or the initiation of such forms for the mass struggle. The task of the Communists is to advance the influence of the policies of the working class and build up the forces of the left trend within the established organizations of the Negro people, of labor, of the poor farmers, and of their allies among the middle class strata.

NY 100-4931

"The special organization which the Communists must build in order that the Party and the working class may fulfill their responsibility to the development of the liberation movement of the Deep Southern Negro community is the further building of the Communist Party in the South in general and amongst the Southern workers in particular.

"The struggle of the Deep Southern Negroes for equality is an organic part of the democratic struggle of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples on a national and world-wide scale. It is a separate sector but an indivisible part of the struggle of the working class people of our country and the world for security, peace, democracy and freedom. Whatever affects the fortunes of one sector, has its consequences upon the whole front. Correspondingly in so far as progress is achieved in the general cause of the struggle for democracy, peace and economic well-being in the country as a whole (as well as on a world scale) to just such an extent will more opportune conditions be created for favoring the triumph of the struggle of the Negro people for equality of rights and people's freedom. The opposite is no less true; therefore Communists in the Negro freedom movement strive to strengthen the conscious participation of that movement with the nation-wide and world struggle for peace, economic well-being, and freedom, and against war, reaction, poverty, and colonial bondage."

NY T-3 reported on December 3, 1958, that at the meeting of the National Committee, CP, USA, which was to be held in New York on December 6-7, 1958, a portion of this meeting would be devoted to the Negro Question in particular, and that the attendance at this session of the meeting would include a number of leading Negro functionaries, who had been invited to attend and participate in the discussion.

NY 100-4931

NY T-3 advised on December 10, 1958, that at the December 6, 1958, session of this meeting of the National Committee, JAMES E. JACKSON delivered a lengthy report on the Negro Question. The informant stated JACKSON's report, in part, was based upon the aforementioned documents.

In addition, NY T-3 related JACKSON's report also encompassed a document entitled "Resolution on Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question in the United States" and consisted of several basic proposals which contain revisions of Negro policy of the CP, USA.

In proposal 2, the CP changed the incorrect view that the great base of the Negro people is essentially in agriculture as "land-bound peasantry." JACKSON's report contended that the South is no longer the heart of the Negro people's movement. Therefore, the statements on the Negro Question call for new direction and tactics in approach.

Proposition 3 advances an argument revising the former CP view and states that the Negroes are not a nation and the former slogan of self-determination is not valid.

Proposition 4, concerns itself with a reappraisal of the self-determination concept and slogan and calls for a replacement of the self-determination theory.

NY T-3 related the propositions contained in this document represent the new approach and concept of the CP, USA on the Negro Question, from which it will devise all necessary, tactical and organizational programs and policies,

NY T-3 advised JACKSON's report was accepted by the National Committee both as a line of the CP and as the basis for discussion within the CP on the Negro Question.

NY 100-4931

YOUTH MATTERS

(Bureau file 100-3-76)
(New York file 100-80644)

This section was prepared by SA JOHN R. HAWKEN.

On October 9, 1958, NY T-13 advised that EUGENE DENNIS on October 5, 1958, had stated that preparations are being made to send a delegation to the 7th World Youth Festival to be held in Vienna, Austria, during the summer of 1959. DENNIS said that these preparations will be discussed by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the CP, USA. He suggested that after the delegates to this festival are known, then it will be determined which delegates need financial help and how much. From this compilation a request can be made for financial aid. This request, according to DENNIS, should be sent to the Preparatory Committee in Vienna, Austria.

On October 20, 1958, NY T-38 advised that HY LUMER stated that date that there will be a CP sponsored meeting in regard to youth in San Francisco, California, on October 24, 1958 which will be attended by non-Party youth, and youth whose parents are not CP members, in addition to the regular CP youth. LUMER, according to NY T-38, will meet this group in an effort to obtain opinions from the youth themselves regarding problems affecting youth for the purpose of using this information in formulating the policy of the CP, USA, regarding youth.

The November 2, 1958, issue of "The Worker" page five, column four, reflects the following under the caption "Youth Courses":

"The new Youth Program of the Faculty of Social Science will be open at 80 East 11th Street, near Broadway, on Friday evening, November 7th. Classes will run for six sessions at either 6:45 or 8:15 p.m, on November 7, 14,

NY 100-4931

21 and December 5, 12 and 19".

On November 3, 1958, NY T-13 advised that BOB THOMPSON by letter dated October 31, 1958, addressed "To All Members of the N.E.C." called for a NEC meeting to be held on November 18, 19 and possibly 20, 1958. THOMPSON set forth in this letter a number of reasons for this meeting among them being "the adoption of a Party Thesis on what type of a Marxist Youth Organization we would like to see built".

On November 19, 1958, NY T-39 advised that the CP Mid-west Youth Conference was held November 15-16, 1958, at Milda Hall, Chicago, Illinois, and that there were 28 individuals in attendance at this conference. The delegates represented Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and St. Louis. The agenda for the conference was as follows:

I. Reports From Each State
II. Program For Action

1. Educational
2. March on Washington
3. World Youth Festival

III What Kind of a Youth Organization Do We Want ?

NY T-39 further advised that JAMES WEST was one of the speakers at this conference. WEST stated that other conferences had been held or were being held on the East and West coasts which would lead to a major youth conference. WEST said that the World Youth Festival to be held in Vienna, in 1959, would be limited to 400 delegates and that preliminary conferences on the festival had already begun.

NY T-39 advised that ROBERT THOMPSON stated at this conference that if more requests for a Youth Page in "The Worker" were received from other centers, such

NY 100-4931

a page would be included. THOMPSON also commented that he wanted from 300 to 400 youths in Marxist classes by January, 1959.

NY T-39 further advised that the slogan "All Out for March" was adopted by this conference with reference to the "March on Washington" to be held in the Spring of 1959. It was suggested student councils, trade unions, churches, and organizations be contacted to raise money for this March on Washington.

Regarding the formation of a new organization, NY T-39 reported that many of those in attendance at the conference favored the Marxist-Leninist approach. It was suggested that the formation of this organization proceed slowly by having discussion groups thus guaranteeing good ground work. NY T-39 advised that no definite decisions were made in relation to the formation of a new youth group.

The November 23, 1958, issue of "The Worker" page 13, column three, contains the following under the caption "Preparing for Youth Fete":

"Arrangements for participation of 400 young Americans in the 7th World Youth Festival of Youth and Students in Vienna began this week, the U.S. Festival Committee announces.

"Applications will be available at the Committee headquarters, 19 West 27th Street".

On November 20, 1958, NY T-16 advised that at the session of the NEC held that date in New York City, ROBERT THOMPSON discussed the Youth Movement with particular emphasis on how the young Marxists should be organized in the United States. He discussed the history of the Young Communist League (YCL) and talked about the recent Youth March on Washington, and the return March on Washington to be held some time during

NY 100-4931

the latter part of March or early part of April, 1959. THOMPSON stated that the Party should have a network of committees and cooperating organizations around the Youth Marches on Washington. He said that this would encompass in an organized way, thousands of young people in the next period of time.

Concerning the organization of the youth in this country THOMPSON stated that the Party must:

1. Organize the youth forces in and around the Party.
2. Organize around the 7th World Youth Festival.
3. Expand Marxist educational activity.

He said that they should start with the Youth Page in "The Worker" as a regular feature. He further stated that the Party should also organize discussion groups around the young people concerning what type of youth organization of a Marxist character they think is adaptable to their needs and to the American scene.

In answer to the question "What should our approach be?", THOMPSON stated that they should have a double-sided approach. He stated that the Party should remember there is a lot they do not know about youth, their moods, feelings, social and political attitudes. He also stated that the Party should remember those valid Marxist principles pertaining to organizations and activities in the youth field.

A. The first principle is independence of organization of youth, meaning that the youth should have their own political leadership, at the direction of their own forces, and learn from the guiding of their own activities.

B. The second principle is that the basic content of any Marxist youth organization is to be learned

NY 100-4931

on the basis of the "steady struggle" principle that combines activities of a social, political and recreational character with the study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

C. The third principle is that any Marxist youth group that arises must have the closest relationship with the Party and must be a Marxist youth movement that generally supports and accepts the Party's political guidance.

Continuing, THOMPSON stated, according to NY T-16, that he has come to the conclusion that as of the present time what the Party needs is a YCL type of organization. By this THOMPSON explained he meant an organization of young Marxists to develop and study scientific socialism, an organization that would be designed to educate young people in the support of socialism and to develop activities as a Marxist organization. He stated that the only requirements for membership would be an interest in any phase of the organization's activities and the desire to learn.

In conclusion THOMPSON said that he did not think such an organization could be formed in a relatively short time and pointed out that it would have to go through a period of time of slowly collecting forces and training leadership. He said that these would be very crucial years but that he thought it was possible that such an organization could at least be established some time next year. He remarked it would have a base initially in five or six cities which should be able to rapidly gather together 500 or 600 more youths.

NY T-16 further advised that HYMAN LUMER spoke at the third day's session of the NEC, CP, USA meeting held on November 20, 1958, at which time he gave a report on the youth situation as he found it on his recent trip to the West Coast.

NY 100-4931

On November 25, 1958, NY T-20 advised that GEORGE MEYERS had stated on November 24, 1958, that the Eastern Regional Youth Conference which was to have been held on November 30, 1958, had been postponed indefinitely.

On December 29, 1958, NY T-13 made available a schedule for the Faculty of Social Science, Winter term, January 19, 1959 to March 6, 1959. This schedule contains the following:

"YOUTH DIVISION - A special program of classes for student and working youth will start in February. Brochures will be available on January 15th."

NY 100-4931

FARMERS MATTERS

(Bufile 100-3-79)
(NY file 100-80634)

This section was prepared by SA JOHN R. HAWKEN.

On October 22, 1958, NY T-3 advised that a meeting of some members of the sub-committee on Farm Program of the CP, USA Program Committee met in Flemington, New Jersey on October 11, 1958. NY T-3 advised that ROSE COE, BOB COE, ERIC BERT, LEM HARRIS, and PAT TOOHEY attended this meeting and brought with them working drafts of the assignments they had been given at the September 17, 1958 meeting of this group.

These assignments were:

1. BOB and ROSE COE were to draft a document concerning the crisis of the farmer in America with regard to technical changes and the consequences to the farmer as to income stability and security. This document was to take the position of an American farmer under capitalism.
2. ERIC BERT was to write a similar document but from the position of an American farmer under Socialism.
3. LEM HARRIS was to write a short document on "How a People's Anti-Monopoly Government Would Function in Behalf of the American Farmer".

NY T-3 stated that the contents of these drafts were discussed at length and in general the mainline of each was agreed to by all. Their acceptance was to be contingent on the outcome of a discussion of these drafts to be held with Party members assigned to draft the economic section of the CP program.

NY 100-4931

On November 14, 1958, NY T-1 made available a letter dated November 12, 1958, addressed to members of the National Committee by PAT TOOHEY on behalf of the CP Farm Commission. The letter enclosed a draft of the proposed agricultural section of the CP basic program which was drafted after a number of sessions of the Farm Commission and after several meetings of the Commission with other groups and individuals concerned with agricultural developments and farmers' movements. The letter indicated that the CP Program Committee of the National Committee would discuss the draft at an early date and prior to that time suggestions and opinions and amendments were being solicited from as many interested CP members as possible. The letter indicated that the draft was being sent to all members of the National Committee and to approximately 50 selected friends nationally in the Party and farm organizations. Suggestions and opinions were solicited before December 1, 1958. The draft program declared, in part, as follows:

The tendency of agriculture in the U.S. has its source in the class nature of our society, and, therefore, it cannot be reversed while capitalism persists. The decisive factor in the present development of agriculture is the rapid transformation of its technology and those farms with the largest amount of capital will be able to advance technologically and make a profit and the small farmers will be forced out of business and into the cities. Technological advance threatens the small and middle farmers of the South and as a whole and the plantation share croppers in particular. The Negro share croppers and the non-White migratory wage laborers generally are deprived of civil rights and subjected to brutal segregation.

As the average size of farms grows it becomes increasingly difficult for young farmers to begin farming even as tenants. The only effective defense against attacks on the small and middle sized farmers is collective action of the farmers and support to their struggles by the working class.

NY 100-4931

The CP supports the right of the share croppers and farm wage workers to organize, to bargain collectively and to strike. The CP urges the extension of federal minimum wage legislation to agricultural workers, the full enforcement of federal and state standards in health and welfare, and the abolition of child labor. The CP demands that the Bill of Rights should be enforced for share croppers and farm workers including the right to vote, the right to sit on juries, the right to be elected to public office, and the outlawing of all forms of segregation in fact.

The Communist Party supports the property rights of small and medium-sized producers in the land and chattels they possess and opposes eviction of these producers from the land. The CP also supports price aids, the struggle to win concessions from the monopolies, the efforts of small and medium-size farmer-cooperatives to make the associations serve them and not the big farmers, the shifting the burden of taxation to the monopolies and reduction in the cost of government or private credit to small farmers.

The CP opposes crop curtailment in principle as an attempt to resolve, by anti-social means, the contradiction between the productive capacity and restrictions imposed on the market by capitalism.

The CP proposes the following short-range program for U.S. agriculture when the U.S. has taken the road to socialism:

1. Application of minimum wage standards to farm wage workers.

NY 100-9431

2. Health, cultural, child care and educational facilities in rural areas shall be raised to urban levels.
3. All land and chattel mortgages owned by banks and insurance companies will become the property of the socialist commonwealth.
4. Debts owed by cooperative associations shall become the property of the socialist commonwealth.
5. Prices of farm products shall be fixed at a point where it is possible for the full-time farmer to provide his family with a decent livelihood.
6. Farm families who provide one-half or more of all labor on the farm shall be guaranteed security in the farm.
7. Farms on which less than one-half of the labor is provided by the operator and his family may be reduced to family size by Government action.
8. Farms formerly operated as cropper plantations may be transferred into individual family-sized farms and collective farms operated by former croppers.
9. The Government shall make machinery and equipment available to family farmers either through sale or rental.

JVW:mzm
(1)

NY 100-4931

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Bufile 100-3-90
New York 100-88297

This section was prepared by SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

Comment on BORIS PASTERNAK's
"Doctor Zhivago"

In an editorial, "Pasternak's Defenders," in "The Worker," November 9, 1958, it is asserted that "every enemy, not only of socialism, but social progress in general, in this country and the rest of the world, has joined in the attempt to use the ~~Boris~~ Pasternak award to heat up the cold war."

The argument that Nobel prizes were awarded to Soviet physicists as well, and thus the awards are impartial is met by the assertion that it was found to be impossible to pass over Soviet scientists in view of their unprecedented achievements, and the award to PASTERNAK was used to try to balance this off.

The editorial says that the Soviet people see "Doctor ZHIVAGO" as an open attack not only on Socialism, but on the foundations of science and a scientific view of history. It is said that those people have an understandable attitude forty years after the great liberating revolution, especially when they find themselves surrounded not only by ideological enemies, but by bases from which atomic missiles can be launched by those who have never given up the idea of destroying the Socialist world.

In an article over the byline of MIKE NEWBERRY in the same issue it was charged that the Nobel prize was given for cold war propaganda, and literature has been forsaken. NEWBERRY professes to be an admirer of BORIS PASTERNAK, the poet, but says of "Doctor Zhivago" that

JVW:mzm
(2)

NY 100-4931

no fad or political expediency can make a bad book a masterpiece. He says it is an "incredibly poorly written book."

In a column entitled, "The Arts," in "The Worker" of November 16, 1958, page 10, written by NEWBERRY, it is said that BORIS PASTERNAK had at one point agreed to cuts in his manuscript, but an Italian publisher had declined to return the manuscript and thereafter the cold war propagandists seized on "Doctor Zhivago." Until then, there had been no criticism or denunciation of PASTERNAK in the Soviet Union. However, NEWBERRY went on, into the act came the Swedish Academy, and dyeing the political limelight, they awarded the author the Nobel prize. Only then did the Soviet Writers Union reprimand him.

MARK TWAIN

In "The Worker," October 19, 1958, page 3, appears an article by C. R., entitled; "New Light on Mark Twain," a reference to PHILIP FONER's, "Mark Twain: Social Critic." The article states that FONER attacks those who refuse to take TWAIN seriously and denigrate the social criticism implicit in his writings. FONER also rejects the psychiatric conclusion that TWAIN had unfulfilled talent as a result of childhood experiences which made him incapable of coping with the times in which he lived.

FONER is credited with performing a vital service in compiling the evidence that makes it obvious MARK TWAIN deserves the title of Social Critic as few American writers do. What is still needed, the article concludes, is a deeper analysis of the complexities of TWAIN, who is not easy to explain, but who is the representative American.

JVW:mzm
(3)

NY 100-4931

MIKE NEWBERRY, in his column, "The Arts" in "The Worker," December 21, 1958, page 10, set out an interview of FONER as author of "Mark Twain: Social Critic." FONER here notes:

"Satire for political writing does not degrade art, as some theorists feel. At least, Mark Twain never felt so. He dealt with issues important to us today; imperialism, hypocrisy, discrimination, the colonial question, labor, the false patriotism of warmongering, religion, political corruption....."

HPQ:pam
(1)

NY 100-4931

NATIONAL GROUPS
(Bufile 100-3-91)
(New York file 100-54651)

This section was prepared by SA HAROLD P. QUINN.

NY T-26 advised on November 14, 1958, that HYMAN LUMER had a document in his possession entitled "Notes on the Jewish Question in the USSR."

This document contained a history of Jewish activities in the Soviet Union, including their current problems. The last section of this document read as follows:

"A proper approach to the problem involves the following considerations:

- 3e
- "1. The situation with regard to assimilation of Jews in the Soviet Union is different from that in capitalist countries. In a socialist society, where national oppression is ended and full freedom for all nationalities is established, the process of assimilation and amalgamation of national cultures can proceed without hindrance. In the Soviet Union there are already marked signs of this development.
 - "2. Within responsible bodies in the Soviet Union there are differences of opinion as to whether or not the restoration of Yiddish publications would be a retrogression, an artificial preservation of something which few Soviet Jews want.

HPQ:pam
(2)

NY 100-4931

- "3. Communists must view the problem of Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R. in perspective. The negative aspects must be placed within the total framework of the Soviet Union as a socialist country, which in practice follows a Marxist-Leninist policy with regard to the rights of nations and national minorities not only in the Soviet Union but also on a world scale. Marxists must give attention to the Jewish question in its totality, including its American aspects. They must devote themselves to the development of a rounded theoretical examination of the question."

NY T-13 advised on October 30, 1958, that EUGENE DENNIS had recently advised that the Sub-Committee of the National Executive Committee of the CP, USA, on the Jewish question, had been hampered in its work due to the fact that some of its members, as well as some of the members of the National Jewish Commission, have been unavailable.

DENNIS also advised that this Sub-Committee was waiting for HYMAN LUMER to return from the West Coast before preparing any type of official document on the question.

NY 100-4931

FJC:mzm
(1)

RELIGION

Bufile 100-3-82
New York 100-80864

This section was prepared by SA FRANCIS J.
COSTIGAN:

"The Worker," in its issue of December 7, 1958,
page 14, column 3, contains a news article captioned:

"Religious Groups Hear Lightfoot"

According to the article, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
addressed a meeting of individuals of different faiths at
the First Methodist Church of Oak Park, Illinois. LIGHTFOOT
stated that only Socialism can create the material conditions
in which the ideals and aspirations of the Christian social
creed can be realized.

"The Worker," in its issue of December 28, 1958, page
8, column 1, contains an article captioned:

"Change The World," by MICHAEL GOLD

In his column, GOLD described JESUS
CHRIST as "the people's myth," and as a carpenter and the
son of Jewish parents. He stated that CHRIST was by
some historians believed to be a leader of an underground
trade union movement, whose object was to overthrow the
Roman imperialists who occupied the country of the Jews.

According to GOLD, a great deal of church
politics has been written into the New Testament account
of CHRIST, and he would be arrested today as an atheist
agitator for preaching Socialism.

JVW:mzm
(1)

NY 100-4931

PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS

Bufile 100-3-86
New York 100-81675

[] This section was prepared by SA []

b6
b7c

Finances and Circulation
of "The Worker"

On October 29, 1958, NY T-30 furnished information that Publishers New Press, Incorporated, publisher of "The Worker" had, as of September 30, 1958, total assets of \$27,732.79, liabilities of \$116,442.10, and a surplus deficit of \$88,709.31. According to the informant, for the nine months period ending September 30, 1958, operating income amounted to \$41,065.12, and operating expenses were \$125,201.42, resulting in an operating loss of \$84,136.30. This operating loss was offset by other income of \$7,566.89, resulting in a net operating loss of \$76,569.41. Donations during the nine months period amounted to \$79,193.39, resulting in a net income over net operating loss of \$2,623.98.

In an annual statement required by Federal law, "The Worker," October 12, 1958, page 14, officially listed its average circulation during the preceding 12 months at 13,029.

Washington, D.C. Office
of "The Worker" Closed

On November 19, 1958, NY T-31 advised that "The Worker" was to close its office in the National Press Building, Washington, D.C., on or before November 22, 1958.

JVW:mzm
(2)

NY 100-4931

"World Marxist Review"
Circulation in the United States

On November 24, 1958, NY T-2 furnished information that the circulation of the third issue of the "World Marxist Review" in the United States would total approximately eight hundred copies.

Need for Increased Circulation of
Marxist Classics and for More
Pamphlets Dealing with the
Role of the CP (Communist Party)
Stressed at National Committee
Meeting, December 7, 1958

NY T-2, advised that ROBERT THOMPSON in his report on the status of the CP organization, delivered at a meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA, (Communist Party, United States of America), on December 7, 1958, declared that the Party has not done enough to counter-act attacks against it, and that more pamphlets dealing with the role of the CP are needed. He also called for the increased circulation and sale of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and stated the Party should organize discussions in the clubs in 1959, utilizing in this connection WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's "History of the Communist Party-USA."

According to the informant, HY LUMER informed the National Committee meeting that the circulation of "Political Affairs" is now stabilized at 5,500 copies per month, but complained that there is no systematic use of the magazine. He commented that some libraries, governmental agencies, and labor unions subscribed to "Political Affairs," and felt there were opportunities to increase the circulation in these institutions.

JVW:mzm
(3)

NY 100-4931

Negro Marxist Journal Scheduled
to Appear in February, 1959

On October 25, 1958, NY T-1 advised that the resident National Executive Committee, CP, USA, at a meeting on October 22, 1958, adopted a program presented by JAMES E. JACKSON, which proposes the establishment of a Negro Marxist journal directed to Negro youth. According to the informant, this journal will be published quarterly, and the first issue will appear in February, 1959.

All CP (Communist Party) Districts
Urged to Utilize Two New Pamphlets
Dealing with Unemployment and
the CP Program-United States
Policy in the Far East

On October 30, 1958, NY T-11 furnished a letter dated October 20, 1958, addressed "To All Districts," from ROBERT THOMPSON advising that two new pamphlets are available and requesting an estimate of the number each district can utilize.

The letter indicated that one pamphlet deals with unemployment and the CP program, and expresses the hope that a national circulation of at least 30,000 will be achieved for this piece of literature.

The second pamphlet is entitled, "The U.S. and China-Peace or War," and, according to the letter, its contents appeared in article form in the October 1958 issue of "Political Affairs." This pamphlet is described as "more of a propaganda piece dealing basically with the situation in the Far East and U.S. policy there," and is designed to influence "serious-thinking trade unionists, active forces in peace movements, and other circles."

JVW:mzm
(4)

NY 100-4931

WILLIAM WEINSTONE Discusses
the Sharp Drop in Marxist Literature
Sales

"The Worker," issue of October 19, 1958, page 8, contains a discussion by WILLIAM WEINSTONE of the question:

"How do you explain the sharp drop in the sale of Marxist literature?"

WEINSTONE attributed the decline in the sale of literature primarily to "the extreme persecution over the past ten years in which the teaching of Marxism was made a crime." He also accused the "Un-American Committees of the House and Senate and other government agencies" of circulating pamphlets "giving distorted versions of Marxist classics as proof of a 'conspiracy' to overthrow the government." As a result, WEINSTONE states, "progressives reduced or quit entirely buying Marxist literature."

WEINSTONE cites a second reason, related to the first, which he describes as "pragmatism." He states "once there is a cessation or slowing down of reading and study, the old weakness of imagination takes over. People get along by immediate experience alone, and underestimate or disregard the experience of the ages expressed in theory-in books."

WEINSTONE also mentions the following additional factors against the reading and study of Marxist works-revisionism, which regards Marxism as outdated; the absence of people especially devoting themselves to literature promotion; and the relatively high price of books and pamphlets due to increased printing costs.

All CP Districts Urged to
Increase Their Distribution
of PAUL ROBESON's book,
"Here I Stand"

On December 16, 1958, NY T-8 furnished a letter, dated December 15, 1958, addressed:

JVW:mzm
(5)

NY 100-4931

Re 1A 1A "To: All Districts" from ROBERT THOMPSON, advising that a special discount for bulk orders of PAUL ROBESON's book, "Hero I Stand," was available and calling for increased effort in the campaign "to bring this book to masses who have still not been reached."

NY 100-4931

Education

(Bureau file 100-3-71)
(NY file 100-80633)

This section was prepared by SA JOSEPH V. WATERS.

"The Worker" of October 5, 1958, published an editorial "The Key of Marxism." Note was made of the fact that the Faculty of Social Science was opening its fall term on October 6, 1958, thus filling a need. The editorial claimed that the necessity for Marxist study was more demonstrable than ever and that the problems of war and peace could not be met with ignorance or confusion, both of which were said to have been sown by alien elements among the left and progressive sectors. The classes and forums of the Faculty of Social Science were commended to the readers of "The Worker."

NY T-24 has furnished a copy of a letter dated October 10, 1958, addressed to all districts by HY LUMER for the Educational Committee.

This letter asked for help for the National Educational Committee in getting a speaker's bureau going. The letter asked that information be gathered in answer to the following:

1. How many audiences for the Committee speakers were in the area among workers clubs, college discussion groups, women's and youth groups and forums, as well as a list of their names and addresses.

2. An indication of how often an area might want speakers from the national center who are available for speaking tours.

NY 100-4931

It was explained that the Committee had in mind building a list of speakers on topics with which they would be most familiar. It was said that the sooner the information was obtained the more quickly could the project get started.

NY T-2 has supplied a copy of a six page mimeographed paper entitled "On The Celebration Of The 41st Anniversary Of The Soviet Union And 25 Years Of American-Soviet Diplomatic Relations." This document bears the information "Issued by the Education Dep't, New York State Communist Party." However, according to NY T-2 it was circulated by the National Office of the CP, USA.

The theme of this material is stated as "The preservation of world peace by the strengthening of American-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation.

Page six of this paper lists as suggested reading V.I. LENIN'S "The Revolution of 1917," and "Toward the Seizure of Power", as well as another book, "V.I. Lenin: A Political Biography."

NY T-41 and NY T-42 have reported that on October 1, 1958, HY LUMER addressed a meeting of the Education Commission of the Southern California District of the Communist Party.

HY LUMER observed that during the past few years there had been a serious lack of educational activity, including a decline in the work of schools, and there had been a serious lack of cadre training as well. However, he claimed that during the preceding 12 months there had been a reversal of this trend, in that in several of the CP districts there had been a growth of educational apparatus. LUMER regarded as the most interesting development the re-establishment of

NY 100-4931

a Marxist school in New York and saw an excellent opportunity for extending the work of that group in the New York area in the months ahead. He said that with the Faculty of Social Science under the National Educational Committee there has been developed a loose organization with trained teachers providing classes for about 200 students a term. In the season ahead that school expects to enroll between 400 and 500 students. A main aspect of the work will be special attention to a youth program which was being developed in cooperation with the New York State Communist Party Youth Commission. LUMER perceived this activity as a substantial forward step in Marxist education.

LUMER said that when the Educational Committee had been organized shortly after the Communist Party Convention in 1957, it had developed a program which had proved to be too ambitious and unworkable and now the committee finds itself starting over again. He mentioned that there were five full-time people on the National Staff associated with education, and one of the tasks of that group is to prepare a series of outlines on such subjects as the Party situation and the anniversaries of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Union. He also said that a three man committee was at work on the outline of political economy, and another group was working on an outline to be used by teachers in the field of dialectical and historical materialism.

Another major effort in which the center was expected to engage, according to LUMER, was that of cadre training, and it was believed possible to have regional schools during the winter to develop leadership at section and district levels. Another area in which the Educational Committee expected to work was

NY 100-4931

the preparation of study material for class and group discussion of political problems.

NY T-43 has reported that on October 6, 1958, LUMER again addressed the Southern California District Educational Committee, at which time he stated that the National Committee and the National Educational Committee were proposing to run regional training schools for cadre training, one on the East Coast, one in the Midwest, and another in the Far West. The Educational Committee would provide the teachers and the material, and the districts would provide the students and a place to hold the school.

NY T-43 has also reported that on October 10, 1958, LUMER disclosed that a subcommittee of the National Educational Committee had been set up to prepare a Communist Party document on Trotskyism and this would have two parts, one, an ideological expose of the Trotskyite line, and two, a national policy statement on Trotskyism.

On December 15, 1958, NY T-1 furnished a copy of a letter dated December 12, 1958, and addressed by HY LUMER to "Dear Comrade". This letter covered what is described as a draft of a teachers guide on dialectical materialism planned for use as a basis for a more extended and finished set of outlines, comments and suggestions with regard to it were sought.

The accompanying mimeographed guide provides for a six session course with basic student texts, referenced for the benefit of the teacher, together with suggestions and topics for each session.

This teachers guide suggests as basic texts STALIN'S "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", described as a pamphlet, and also "The History of the Communist Party Soviet Union."

RKS:ngb/fe

-1-

NY 100-4931

ATTEMPTS OF COMMUNIST
PARTY TO INFILTRATE
MASS ORGANIZATIONS

(Bufile 100-3-106)
(New York 100-133902)

This section was prepared by SA [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7c

NY T-14 has reported on October 29, 1958, that at a class meeting of the Students Committee for Progressive Education (SCOPE), held October 24, 1958, at 853 Broadway, New York City, ARNOLD JOHNSON chided the class for not getting closer to religious organizations, stating: "Communist youth must infiltrate these organizations if not only for ideological reasons, then for the use of their facilities. They have wonderful meeting halls and equipment. A Communist should be well placed in all these organizations." JOHNSON said that Communist youth must find common ground with church youth group organizations and face a challenge - to present an ideological argument and to show how socialism works.

NY T-20 reported on December 10, 1958 that ROBERT THOMPSON, on December 7, 1958, delivered a report on the past activities and future perspectives of the Party at the meeting of the National Committee, CP, USA held on December 6 and 7, 1958. THOMPSON urged all Districts of the Party to begin penetration into mass organizations, particularly Negro organizations and trade unions.

A discussion followed THOMPSON's report and the participating speakers stated that they would return to their respective Districts and carry out his instructions.

NY 100-4931

ALBERT BLUMBERG

On July 21, 1958, T-48 advised that at a meeting of the Kings County CP Committee held that date, it was announced that BLUMBERG, who had been elected to the New York State CP Committee as a representative from Brooklyn, New York, had submitted his resignation from the New York State Committee.

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

On March 6, 1957, NY T-12 advised that [REDACTED] attended as a delegate or alternate the New York State CP Convention held January 25 to 27, 1957, at New York.

CHARLES "BOB" COE

On July 30, 1957, NY T-3 advised that a meeting of the CP,USA, Farm Commission was held at CP,USA Headquarters on July 26, 1957, at which it was decided that the group present at this meeting would be considered the base of the CP,USA National Farm Commission. NY T-3 added that CHARLES "BOB" COE was in attendance at this meeting.

ROSE COE

On July 30, 1957, NY T-3 advised that a meeting of the CP,USA, Farm Commission was held at CP,USA Headquarters in New York City, on July 26, 1957, at which it was decided that the group present at this meeting would be considered the base of the CP,USA, National Farm Commission. NY T-3 added that ROSE COE was in attendance at this meeting.

NY 100-4931

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., as one of the twenty members-at-large of the National Committee, CP, USA, elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

"The Worker" July 13, 1958, listed DAVIS as a member of the CP National Executive Committee.

DAVIS was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

EUGENE DENNIS

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified EUGENE DENNIS as one of the twenty members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA, elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9 to 12, 1957.

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed DENNIS as a member of the CP National Executive Committee and National Secretary.

DENNIS was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

CHARLES DIRBA

T-12 on January 4, 1957, advised that CHARLES DIRBA identified himself as the Press Director of the Upper East Side Section of the New York County CP at a meeting in December, 1956.

NY 100-4931

FRED FINE

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified FINE as one of the twenty members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA, elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN as a member of the National Executive Committee of the CP, USA, and National Field Organizer.

NY T-2 advised that FLYNN was elected a member of the National Committee at its meeting on July 27 and 28, 1957.

FLYNN was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on January 21, 1953, for violation of the Smith Act.

PHIL FONER

Ny T-49, on March 21, 1947 advised that the New York State CP School Commission planned a new seminar on labor history and selected PHIL FONER as the instructor.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified WILLIAM Z. FOSTER as one of the twenty members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA, elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, reported that FOSTER was elected Chairman Emeritus of the CP, USA.

NY 100-4931

FOSTER was indicted in United States District Court, New York, on July 20, 1948, for violation of the Smith Act. He has not been tried because of his health.

ALEX GARDNER

NY T-22 on April 8, 1958, advised that he knew GARDNER to be a Communist during the early 1950's and that he still considered him one. The informant also said that as of April, 1958, GARDNER was a member of the Administrative Committee of "L'Unita".

SIMON W. GERSON

NY T-12 on April 2, 1957, advised that SIMON W. GERSON is a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA from the New York District and a member of the New York State CP Committee.

MICHAEL GOLD

NY T-40 advised on November 17, 1955, that MICHAEL GOLD was known to him as a CP member from about 1926 to 1947 or 1948.

GILBERT GREEN

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified GILBERT GREEN as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

GREEN was convicted in the United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act. He is currently serving his sentence.

NY 100-4931

GUS HALL

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified GUS HALL as a member of the National Committee of the CP,USA, elected at its 15th National Convention in 1950.

HALL was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

LEM HARRIS

On October 18, 1954, NY T-3 advised LEMENT BACON HARRIS was a member of the CP,USA, Farm Commission.

On January 1, 1955, NY T-1 advised that HARRIS was a CP member and in contact with leading Communists on CP financial matters.

JAMES E. JACKSON

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified JAMES E. JACKSON as one of the twenty members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP,USA, elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed JAMES JACKSON as a member of the CP National Executive Committee and Secretary for Negro and Southern Affairs.

ARNOLD JOHNSON

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed ARNOLD JOHNSON as Legislative Secretary of the CP,USA.

NY 100-4931

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

NY T-2, on April 29, 1957, described ANTHONY KRCHMAREK as a member of the National Committee, CP,USA, from the Ohio District.

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed KRCHMAREK as a member of the National Executive Committee of the CP,USA.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT as one of twenty members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP,USA, elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, page 14, column 5, listed CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT as a member of the National Committee of the CP,USA.

LIGHTFOOT was convicted January 26, 1955, United States District Court, Chicago, for violation of the Smith Act. He has been granted a new trial.

CHARLES LOMAN

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified CHARLES LOMAN as one of 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP,USA elected at its 16th National Convention held February 9-12, 1957.

On May 3, 1957, NY T-12 advised that LOMAN was elected to the New York State Committee of the CP at the Reconvened New York State CP Convention held March 30, 1957.

NY 100-4931

On May 5, 1957, NY T-44 advised that at the Reconvened Kings County CP Convention held May 5, 1957 in Brooklyn, New York, LOMAN was elected Chairman of the Kings County CP.

HYMAN LUMER

NY T-2 has advised on April 29, 1957, ^{LUMER} was a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed HY LUMER as a member of the CP National Executive Committee and Educational Director.

GEORGE MEYERS

On November 14, 1957, NY T-13 advised that GEORGE MEYERS is a member of the CP National Committee from Maryland.

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed MEYERS as a member of the CP National Executive Committee.

MEYERS was convicted in United States District Court, Baltimore, on April 1, 1952, for violation of the Smith Act.

GEORGE MORRIS

On April 4, 1958, NY T-2 advised that EUGENE DENNIS in March, 1958, disclosed that GEORGE MORRIS was an associate editor of "The Worker".

NY 100-4931

BURT NELSON

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed BURT NELSON as a member of the National Executive Committee of the CP,USA.

NY T-2 has identified NELSON as a member of the National Committee of the CP,USA.

PAUL NOVICK

On April 13, 1949, NY T-33 described PAUL NOVICK as being a CP member at that time and editor of the "Morning Freiheit".

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

"The Worker", January 26, 1958, page 4, column 3, described WILLIAM L. PATTERSON as its General Manager.

PETTIS PERRY

NY T-13 advised that PETTIS PERRY was elected a member of the National Committee of the CP,USA, at its meeting on July 27 and 28, 1957.

PETTIS PERRY was convicted on January 21, 1953, in United States District Court, New York, for violation of the Smith Act.

IRVING POTASH

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified IRVING POTASH as a member of the National Committee of the CP,USA, elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

NY 100-4931

POTASH was convicted on October 14, 1949, in United States District Court, New York, for violation of the Smith Act. On completion of sentence, he voluntarily deported himself on March 4, 1955. He was arrested on January 4, 1957, for illegal entry into the United States and was convicted.

PAUL ROBESON

In June, 1950, NY T-32 advised that PAUL ROBESON was known to him prior to 1945, as a concealed Communist.

MILTON ROSEN

NY T-50 on October 20, 1958, advised that MILTON ROSEN was the Upstate Coordinator for the New York State CP.

ART SHIELDS

On March 3, 1955, NY T-46 advised that ART SHIELDS worked on the "Daily Worker" in 1924, served in Spain as a representative for the "Daily Worker", joined the CP in 1936, and was a member of the CP as of 1952.

On January 31, 1954, NY T-47 advised that on January 30, 1954, SHIELDS, Labor Correspondent for the "Daily Worker" stated he had worked on the "Daily Worker" since its inception.

SIDNEY STEIN

On February 17, 1958, NY T-3 advised that at the National Committee meeting held in New York City, February 15, 16, 1958, STEIN vacated his post as Organizational Secretary, CP, USA and position on the National Executive Committee. However, he remained a member of the CP, USA National Committee.

NY 100-4931

MARTHA STONE

At a public hearing conducted by the Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives (HCUA) in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 20, 1958, ARMANDO PENHA, a self-admitted member of the CP from early 1950, until the date of the above testimony, identified MARTHA STONE as a person he knew as a National Committee member of the CP during the period in which he was associated with the Party.

ROBERT THOMPSON

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, listed BOB THOMPSON as a member of the CP National Executive Committee and Executive Secretary.

NY T-2 has advised that ROBERT THOMPSON was elected a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, at its meeting on July 27 and 28, 1957.

THOMPSON was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

PAT TOOHEY

On September 24, 1958, NY T-3 advised that PAT TOOHEY is the Chairman of the New Jersey State CP.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

NY T-2 advised in September, 1958, that ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG is a charter member of the CP, USA.

NY 100-4931

GEORGE WATT

On May 29, 1957, NY T-12 advised that during the New York County CP Committee meeting held May 28, 1957, it was announced by the Chairman of the County Committee that GEORGE WATT was elected Organizational Secretary of the New York State CP.

On February 19, 1958, NY T-45 advised that during a meeting of the New York State CP Staff that date, GEORGE WATT officially resigned his position on the New York State Staff and Board. NY T-45 advised that WATT indicated he would remain in the CP.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

NY T-1 advised on May 27, 1957, that WILLIAM WEINSTONE was the New York State CP Education Director. NY T-2 advised in February, 1958, that WILLIAM WEINSTONE attended the CP National Committee meeting on February 15-16, 1957, as a member of the Committee from the New York District.

WEINSTONE was convicted in the United States District Court, New York, on January 21, 1953, for violation of the Smith Act.

JIM WEST

NY T-25, in February, 1958, identified JIM WEST as a member of the Illinois State CP Committee.

NY 100-4931

JOHN WILLIAMSON

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, identified JOHN WILLIAMSON as a member of the National Committee of the CP,USA elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

WILLIAMSON was convicted October 14, 1949, in the United States District Court, New York, for violation of the Smith Act. He was released from prison on March 1, 1955. WILLIAMSON was granted permission to leave the United States voluntarily under warrant of deportation and departed the United States for England on May 4, 1955.

HENRY WINSTON

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified HENRY WINSTON as a member of the National Committee of the CP,USA, elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

WINSTON was convicted in the United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act. He is currently serving his sentence.

CARL WINTER

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified CARL WINTER as one of the twenty members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP,USA, elected at the 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

"The Worker", July 13, 1958, page 14, column 5, listed CARL WINTER as a member of the CP National Executive Committee.

WINTER was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

NY 100-4931

III. GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

BRONX CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (BCLC)

On November 22, 1955, NY T-33 advised that the Bronx Committee for the Freedom of Political Prisoners was formed in 1952 by Communist Party (CP) members in the Bronx, New York. He described this committee as the type of Communist group that is formed in a local community for the purpose of agitating for amnesty for convicted CP leaders.

On February 8, 1957, NY T-34 advised that the name of the Bronx Committee for the Freedom of Political Prisoners had been changed to the Bronx Civil Rights Committee. On February 13, 1957, NY T-33 advised that the name of this committee had been changed again to the Bronx Civil Liberties Committee (BCLC).

On July 30, 1957, NY T-34 advised that the BCLC is actively participating in a campaign for the abolition of the United States House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities. On March 18, 1958, he advised that the BCLC was sending delegations to Congressmen in connection with this abolition campaign.

On March 11, 1958, NY T-10 advised that the BCLC is continuing its campaign for repeal of the Smith Act and the Walter-McCarran Act as well as the campaign for amnesty for Smith Act "victims".

"DAILY WORKER"

An East coast daily Communist newspaper, publication of which ceased on January 13, 1958.

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

On 10/2/57, NY T-51 advised that on 10/1/57 rooms had been reserved at Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York

JVW:gms
(2)

NY 100-4931

City, for meetings of the "Faculty of Social Science" from October 21, 1957 to December 19, 1957.

On August 14, 1958, NY T-27 advised that classes began in October, 1957, at Academy Hall. With the beginning of the second series of classes in January, 1958, classes were held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The classes have always been referred to by instructors as "the school" or as "classes on Marxist theory" and no formal name has ever been applied to the school.

"L'UNITA"

T-22, on May 19, 1958, advised that "L'Unita" is the successor to the Italian language newspaper "L'Unita del Popolo". It is a pro-Communist Italian-American progressive monthly published by a group of Italian-American Communists.

The Administrative Committee of "L'Unita" in March, 1958, approved a resolution and submitted it to the National Committee of the CP approving the policies of that committee.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," dated May 14, 1951, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "L'Unita del Popolo":

"1. . Among publications which the committee found 'to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system.'

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225)."

It is noted "L'Unita del Popolo" ceased publication on July 10, 1954.

NY 100-4931

"MORNING FREIHEIT"

The "Daily Worker" December 9, 1948 editorially referred to the "Morning Freiheit" as the Jewish language Communist newspaper.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"POLITICAL AFFAIRS"

Cited as an "official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ". "Political Affairs, formerly known as the Communist, 'a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America,' now calls itself 'a magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.' Its chief editor is EUGENE DENNIS, executive secretary of the party."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 5 and 36; also cited in Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 25).

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION (SCOPE)

T-6, on October 7, 1958, furnished a printed schedule of classes being conducted under the auspices of SCOPE, 853 Broadway, New York City, these classes being conducted by Marxist instructors.

"THE WORKER"

An East coast weekly Communist newspaper.

"WORLD MARXIST REVIEW"

"The Worker", October 5, 1958, page 9, describes this publication as "the theoretical and information journal of Communist and Worker's parties."

JVW:gms

(4)

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

NY 100-4931

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Designated by the Attorney General of the
United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

- P -

- 145*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

New York, New York

January 20, 1959

Communist Party,
United States of America
Internal Security - C

All informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent Joseph V. Waters, dated and captioned as above at New York, have furnished reliable information in the past.

This is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.